

14: McFee

NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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[For further information on "white-oriented" and "Indian-oriented" social groups, see Categories 177 and 184.]

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[For information on socio-cultural differences between rich and poor segments of the Blood population and the traits which characterize each, see Category 184.]

BLACKFEET MEANS MANY KINDS OF PEOPLE • 7

John knows much about the old religion, the societies and the Indian social activities, but he does not have the experience, status and authority to use this knowledge. He too talks of "his people," the full-blood group that once lived near each other on one part of the reservation and who still called that region home. He called the elderly man from that area "chief" and told of the important things the old man knew. Arrowhead speaks both Blackfeet and English and during conversation with me would break off in midsentence to greet a passer-by in the Blackfeet language, then resume our discussion in English. His English is adequate, but spoken with an accent and with occasional grammatical errors, usually in tense and gender, that indicate that English has been learned as a second language. He said that this was the case—he and his family spoke Blackfeet when he was growing up and his English had been learned in school.

John claims to have been a "great dancer" and a "champion" singer, but was always on the fringe of the crowd at the Indian dances and ceremonies that I witnessed. He was present, watching, often helping in some necessary but menial task, but was never in costume, never participating in dances or rituals. He knew what was going on and would describe and explain the proceedings to me. John would tell stories about the power and importance of the old ways. He believes these powers, one sensed, but he does not participate in the rituals concerning them. He does not play a significant part either in Indian social activities or in non-Indian community life. His social role remains unclear to me; he is, it seems, a bystander, one of the crowd, a man for an occasional job, but more often categorized by his acquaintances as a "good worker but a wino," a man of whom they have limited expectations.

Conversation with Arrowhead seems to confirm this view. He can not place himself. His talk is mostly of the past, of travel, work, or past participation in Indian dancing, singing or ceremony. He *had* been a "champion dancer . . . a good bronc rider." The highlights of his past may have become embellished by imagination. He took me on a tour of "his land" to show with pride "his cattle, his horses, his house." I knew, and he knew that I knew, that the land was his, but the house and stock belonged to another man who leased the land. In the situation of relating to a white man, at least, the need for status is more impelling than sticking to the facts.

Questions about the future draw a blank. The future lies just beyond tomorrow: "I've got a job coming up herding cattle." He evidently expects tomorrow to be like today. "I'll look for you if you come back next summer," he said, "I'll be around." He gives no clues as to further concern for what might lie ahead.

In contemplation of the past he rarely goes beyond his own experience. On occasion he vaulted back to a "Golden Age," a legendary past he and his friends accept of the trouble-free days of the Indian before the white man came. Then everybody lived well and had plenty to eat. They never became sick and lived long lives. "They didn't fight all the time either." Buffalo Heart, with all his belief in the traditional culture never went back that far. He tried to retain Indian ways of a life that his father had known; he found the better days to be those that began to disappear with the buffalo. Arrowhead holds no hope for a miraculous return of his Golden Age; Buffalo Heart, on the other hand, clung to the hope, it

429 were open equally to all according to one's energy and ability. Tribes, bands, and even families might have their favorite and usual area within which to hunt, but these ties to a territory were unrelated to ideas of ownership of land, game or plants. Once labor had been expended, however—an animal killed, a horse stolen, 425 a plant gathered, a stick or stone picked up, or a dream dreamed—the product was imbued with value and became personal property.

422 It is possible to separate food from other types of property because it was not owned by individuals in the same way as were other goods. Food "belonged" to the collector but was put in charge of the women of the collector's own or adopted family upon return to camp. Food then belonged to the family, yet even this title was clouded by a series of social obligations. A hunter was obliged 224 to share with anyone who had helped him in the kill, with the man whose horse 571 he had borrowed, or with the man from whom he had obtained hunting power. He was expected to provide some part of the meat for the sick or disabled, and he also might have had obligations to some of his in-laws. The family used what remained. (261) In times of famine these rules were set aside and food became band property to be shared by all. Food had additional uses, both ceremonial and social—feasts were 574 an important part of many rituals, to be described later, and as part of the everyday social life of the men, as noted above.

422 Horses and other goods were individually owned by men, women or children. Personal dreams, experiences, exploits, and the symbols of these were also 422 personal property and all could be transferred—sold, exchanged, given, or loaned, 424 in whole or in part—by one person to another. These other goods appear to have been free of forced sharing in times of scarcity. The rule appears to have been that 785 none should starve, but other needs of the poor had to be met by appeals to the generosity of those who had more. The unfortunate were cared for but usually given worn or castoff clothing, tepee covers, tools, robes, and so on, rarely things of much value.

437 Goods other than food were used by their owners or were used as exchange goods. Exchange might be for economic reasons, as when a man gave a horse to a medicine man for a cure, or to get a charm to insure success in horse stealing, war, or other endeavor. Goods might be given in exchange for the supernatural power of another. One kind of property could be used to purchase another, for example, 782 furs and guns for horses, or horses for tepee covers. Another type of transfer was for ritual reasons, as when goods were offered to the sun in the Sun Dance, to 764 ghosts or other spirit forces in propitiation, petition, or thanksgiving. Here too could be classified the practice of placing some of the property of a deceased with his body in order that he might have the use of such things in the next world.

525 A third use, more difficult to classify, would be the exchange of property in gambling. The Blackfeet were avid gamblers and some on occasion were known to have gambled away all their possessions.

431 The fourth use of property was its transfer, by gift or exchange, in order 576 to gain increased prestige and status. Among the Blackfeet property was accumulated and wealth created, to be used for the demonstration of generosity. A man secured horses and other goods in order to give them away. He loaned a horse to another hunter, in part to share in the meat, in part to create an obligation for

The end of the hunting economy made hunting skills obsolete. Migratory seasonal dwelling patterns lost their function. Dependency undermined band and tribal leadership. Warfare and horse raiding were stopped. A man no longer was able to exhibit bravery in the hunt, in war, or on the raid. He no longer could use these means to acquire property with which to display generosity. 493 178 177

Other cultural characteristics were seen to have been under strong pressure. Indian beliefs, religion, ritual, curing practices, and some aspects of social life had been discouraged or outlawed for many years. The acceptance of hospitalization and modern medicine reduced the importance of Indian curing as a channel to prestige. The conversion of many people to Christianity, and the suppression of religious expression and ritual undermined these beliefs and practices. The religious avenues to status were slowly blocked.

Many people remained committed to the old values but were hard pressed to make economic adaptation and at the same time express the traditional values. Generosity could still be practiced, but even this was made difficult under the new conditions. The practice of generosity often blocked the economic success the Indians were asked to achieve. A good and generous man could not hoard his cattle when his family and friends were in need, yet if he was generous with his stock the herd was depleted and his enterprise failed. The qualities that bolstered prestige among the Indian-oriented militated against gaining prestige among the white-oriented, and vice versa.

There is, to be sure, another side to the coin that must be recognized. Reciprocity was important to the survival of the poor. This tended to support and even generate generous behavior, making it difficult for me to decide whether the present stress on generosity is a carry-over from the old days or a response to modern conditions. Probably both factors are present in the patterns of daily reciprocity; cultural persistence seems evident in the rhetoric of generosity and surely most apparent in the give-away ceremonies. 571 177

The increased hybridization of the population was noted. This contributed to quite divergent home environments and socialization practices among the tribes. 177 563

All of these factors resulted in differing economic, social, and cultural accommodations among the tribal members. A few succeeded and many failed in subsistence endeavors. In varying degrees, some people retained Indian beliefs, practices, and values, while others turned to new ways. Still other members of the tribe, mainly mixed-bloods, learned little or nothing of Blackfeet culture but were socialized in white ways.

Some of the results of these processes were described in Chapter 2. In the following chapters I examine the present community in more detail, to show the type of social organization that has evolved in order to accommodate the varied sociocultural combinations that have developed during eighty-six years of change. 128

Social Interaction

Introduction

THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT of social interaction is based on observations made during the course of interviews, during attendance at group and community social gatherings, while visiting people in varying situations, and by observing people in stores and on the street. In addition, much information was gleaned from comments of informants and from the local weekly newspaper. 123
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The original orientation categories used reported interest or participation in some social activities as defining criteria; the concern now is to show that these people actually did attend and participate in these affairs but did not take part in others. Then other forms of social gathering for which I have data are discussed to further support the contention that people of each orientation interact more frequently among themselves than they do with people of the other orientation. 571

As my fieldwork progressed, the impression grew that in some situations people of both orientations participated in relatively equal numbers; in other contexts the Indian-oriented people formed the majority in attendance, while other social gatherings attracted mainly white-oriented persons. The three types of social gatherings are discussed separately and in that order.

Social Occasions, Where Everybody Came

Both Indian- and white-oriented people were noted at political rallies, tribal council meetings, church, sports events, and rodeos. Other situations where relatively equal participation between people of both orientations was noticeable were in business and work contexts where the relationships were those of buyer-seller, service-client, and employee-employer.

Council meetings draw people from all segments of the tribe, as it is at these meetings that issues of interest to all are discussed. The largest crowds turn 643
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A [i.e., White vs. Indian orientation--Analyst]

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571 out when meetings are held to vote on per capita payments, or decisions about
649 the use of Indian land are being considered. At such meetings people of both
649 orientations are present and are equally vocal in support of or in opposition to
597 proposals made. Both orientation groups are represented in the council. At meet-
ings I attended, one or two old timers used the time prior to the opening of the
meeting to make speeches, loudly haranguing the usually inattentive audience about
the problems of the full-bloods. Council minutes frequently record the speeches
of the Honorary Councilmen, who contribute to the debate, such as the translation
of a speech recorded several years back in which an honored elder spoke about
procedures in preparing a land claim case against the U.S. government:

I am speaking to all of you my people. We have the time and we have the
chance to discuss the true evidence that we have and we should use them for
our discussions. Don't use things that will puzzle up our claims. Use the facts
to determine your progress. In my memory there was a time when a claim matter
came up and several members of the tribe tried to use evidence that was not
right. I told them to bring out only the true facts and if they were presented with
our faith in them we would be sure to win our case. I believe that if we proceed
according to treaties and agreements made with the government we will make
some progress on our claims. Let's work with the chosen leaders of our tribe.
I'm sure they are doing the best they can for us . . . (Unpublished documents of
the Blackfeet Tribal Council).

666 Campaign meetings are held in Browning and the outlying communities
preceding each biennial election of tribal councilmen. As many as sixty-five to
seventy candidates run for office, and most of them attend these meetings to
explain their stands on political issues, and to solicit voter support at the polls.
666 Most of the meetings I attended in Browning took place in a centrally located
571 building where the attendance was mixed. The orientation differences were recog-
nized, however, by arranging other meetings at the homes of some of the "full-
bloods" where Indian-oriented people were most numerous of those attending.
Attendance at meetings in the outlying communities is proportionate to the com-
position of the community population; that is, Starr School and Heart Butte have
a larger proportion of Indian-oriented present than at similar meetings at Babb
or East Glacier where the population is more balanced or even largely white-
oriented.

666 The political meetings draw interested people from both segments of the
reservation population because the issues discussed affect the affairs of all. All
candidates at meetings I attended made some allusion to their own Indian identifica-
tion, that is, "we Indians," "the white man is after our land and we Indians must
prevent this." Speeches emphasized the need to stop white encroachment, the
imminence and dangers of termination, the need to preserve the land base. Calls
were made for better education, more jobs, more per capita payments and better
management of tribal funds. Some candidates spoke in English, others in Black-
666 feet, and the speeches of both were translated into the other language by an
191 interpreter. I was impressed by the fairness of the interpretation. Often the trans-
lator was a candidate himself, yet he translated objectively the remarks of the
other speakers, occasionally turned a haltingly given speech into a forceful and

A [i.e., White vs. Indian-orientation--Analyst]

541 latter ceremony, the War Mothers and families of veterans who had died in action.

• [571] The Air Force ceremony struck several of us as a test of the time sense of two cultures. Two Air Force generals were to be honored by being given a Blackfeet name and honorary membership in the Blackfeet tribe. The ritual called for a speech by an elderly chief at the conclusion of which he would pronounce the name he was giving the general, and place a war bonnet on the head of the newly adopted tribesman. A second chief would then make the bestowal to the other general. Air Force plans called for a jet plane fly-over as the war bonnet was put on the head of the senior officer. Four members of the Honorary Council, the master of ceremonies and an interpreter, dressed in Indian regalia, stood in an informal group at one side awaiting the beginning of the ceremonies, while to the other an Air Force contingent consisting of the two generals, fifteen full colonels and a captain, and a color guard of a sergeant and five enlisted men, were drawn up in formation. There was much synchronizing of watches on the military side, a relaxed unconcerned waiting on the part of the Blackfeet. The jets were evidently airborne somewhere over the horizon; if there was radio communication between the planes and the group on the ground, I did not see it.

The ceremony began. Air Force participation could be and was done according to a planned time sequence, but no one could predict how long one of the chiefs might choose to speak. Yet even as I was figuring the odds on outcome, the old chief concluded his speech and pronounced the name, the interpreter translated it, the war bonnet went up and the jets came over the horizon, over the group on the ground and out of sight in the direction of Great Falls. Someone, I will never know who, had good medicine.

The War Memorial dedication was a concern of local people and brought together an audience of families of veterans and tribal dignitaries. It marked the success of a drive begun many years earlier by the War Mothers (mothers of war veterans) to raise money for such a memorial, so commemorated too their persistence and hard work. A procession of tribal leaders, some in Indian regalia, the American Legion Color Guard, the Boy Scouts, and the War Mothers was followed by speeches from the Gold Star Mothers and the unveiling of the pylon shaped monument upon which was mounted a bronze plaque inscribed with the names of tribal members who had been killed in action in U.S. wars. Later in the day the War Mothers staged a give-away ceremony in memory of these war dead.

Indian-Oriented Social Occasions

571 The social occasions where most of the participants and spectators are people of Indian orientation include several public, semiprivate and private gatherings. Some are formal occasions while others are informal in their organization. [527] Formal public occasions include the North American Indian Days celebrations at Browning, a Sun Dance held in conjunction with one of these, and periodically scheduled Indian dances. Horse races and stick game gatherings in the outlying communities are frequent forms of public entertainment organized on a less formal basis. The private and semiprivate gatherings are those to which attendance

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is invited, tacitly or directly, and some of the formal occasions for such congregation are medicine bundle openings, curing ceremonies, song services, and private parties. House to house visiting, gatherings of families and friends, the visiting grouping at the formal public activities, in office buildings and stores, and street corner visiting are kinds of informal private interaction. 527 744 594

The Indian Days celebrations are annual affairs sponsored by the reservation community. The tribal council makes an appropriation to underwrite the celebration, and local businessmen make cash contributions or put up prizes for competitive events. The four day celebration, held in late June or early July, is a reenactment of the traditional Blackfeet summer encampment and advertised widely as a tourist attraction. Families who own teepees are encouraged to pitch them on the encampment grounds and to camp there with their families. Indians from other reservations are invited, resulting in a camp circle of fifty or more teepees formed by local people, visitors from the Canadian Reserves—Blood, North Piegan, Blackfoot and Cree—and from surrounding United States Indian communities—Warm Springs, Yakima, Umatilla, Crow, Gros Ventre, Cheyenne, Assiniboine, Flathead, and Cree, among others. Sleeping and cooking tents are erected behind the tepee circle and upwards of seven hundred people live on the grounds during the encampment. Each family camping on the grounds is paid a cash allowance toward their maintenance and shares in a daily meat or food ration. 527

The formal program opens with a parade through the main street of Browning and out to the encampment grounds near the Museum of the Plains Indian, a half mile west of town. A regular program of Indian dancing to the accompaniment of singing and drumming by local and visiting singing groups is scheduled each afternoon, and continues long into the evening if the weather permits. 527 594 [535]

The dancing sessions are interrupted frequently by both planned and unplanned intermission activities—special dance contests, games, and "give-aways." Some of the last mentioned gift giving ceremonies are sponsored by the Indian Days Committee to honor and give gifts to invited guests from other tribes. Others are put on by individuals and families who wish—and are expected—to give gifts in remembrance of a deceased relative, to give a new and significant Indian name to a child in a public naming ceremony, or to honor some other person by a display of generosity in his name. The person to be honored and his family form a procession and pass four times around the dance arena as the singers drum and sing a favored song. A similar procession is formed for the memorial give-away, and a close relative carries a photograph of the deceased relative. Increasingly distant relatives join the procession with each turn. Quantities of gifts are brought in and at the conclusion of the processional, a crier acting for the family calls out the names of those to be given gifts. Occasionally a tepee with furnishings is given, sometimes horses, more usually blankets, cigarettes, and cash make up the gifts. 527 491

Another almost regularly occurring part of the program is a ceremony in which distinguished visitors are adopted into the Blackfeet Tribe. These people are given an Indian name and a war bonnet, or other tokens of their new status, by an honored elder. In 1960, Indian Days coincided with the U.S. Governors 527 594

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enjoyable occasion," a social gathering of people who shared interests in aspects of Indian culture.

The social grouping of Indian-oriented people gains further support from observations of informal clustering. At the Indian Days encampment, and at the social dances in particular, it was relatively easy to watch for the Indian-oriented people and to notice with whom they spent their time in informal groupings—visiting, chatting, watching, and relaxing. Most of such visiting was with people of similar orientation with only occasional mixing among men of differing orienta-



The forming of the sepee circle for North American Indian Days.

tions. Other observations and reports further support these conclusions. Visits to homes, reported visiting among families and friends, and observations of grouping on other occasions reinforced the pattern.

In 1962 I wrote:

Perhaps the most visible visiting pattern for the Indian-oriented people is the very regular daily congregation in sidewalk groups. From late spring to mid-autumn as many as eighty people can be seen standing or sitting at fairly predictable locations around the town. The location is determined by people's inclinations and by the requirements of sun, shade, or shelter from the wind. People pass many hours a day, visiting and watching the passers-by. White-oriented men are on the street but stop for only short periods of time and then move on, but the Indian-oriented man and his friends make this a major avocation.

If the weather is bad the visitors form smaller groups and move into the nearby

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buildings for shorter periods of time. Most of the men, if asked or if they happen to volunteer the information, have a reason for being there. They are available if someone should be looking for a hired hand; they are waiting for the mail, or keeping an appointment. Sometimes this is true but a comparison of the time spent with the chores accomplished strongly indicates that visiting with friends and watching the town activities with them, are the important objectives (McFee 1962:141).

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There have been changes in these patterns since that time. Some businesses have moved to other parts of town diluting the concentration of occupied buildings in the central section, and the people have shifted too. Groups are smaller and scattered. The two grocery stores still serve as gathering places, the new Community Center and Tribal Office Building, located south of town and near much of the new low rent and mutual aid housing development, will undoubtedly provide a new focus for informal visiting groups and draw them further from the center of town. These patterns too will change but this form of visiting will continue. There is little else to do between infrequent jobs, and money is scarce. Some people will move into the bars when they have money, but there is a limit on how much time and money can be spent there. Others have no interest in the bars anyway. So men and women pass the time with the street corner groups or wander off to continue visiting in cars or at one another's homes.

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Indian-oriented people appear to spend more time in social interaction with people of similar orientation than with others. It was to be expected from the way Indian orientation was defined, that people of this category would participate in the social activities that have been described. An examination of the limited participation by these people in other reservation social activities makes the social unity of this group more apparent.

White-Oriented Social Occasions

The areas of predominantly white-oriented interaction are again both public and private. The public social gatherings that I observed were most frequently centered around school and civic service themes and included P.T.A. meetings, school programs, commencement exercises, Youth Club activities, children's Fishing Derbies, and an annual Easter Egg Hunt. Other activities, such as bowling tournaments and civic club meetings, are of a semiprivate nature in that there is selective membership. The private occasions, as with the Indian-oriented group, would include parties, picnics, and visiting.

There appear to be no large community enterprises that draw crowds of white-oriented people together comparable to the Indian Days Encampment and the Indian dances around which so much Indian-oriented sociability is focused. Perhaps the unbalanced attendance at school and civic meetings—activities involving the children of the community—is most striking and comparable. The limited adult attendance at these events indicates a real social division within the community that can be explained, in part, by the cultural orientations.

School plays, commencement exercises, and the other child and youth

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activities in Browning invite public support.¹³ Children from families of both orientations attend and participate; yet very few of the parents who turn out to watch their children perform are Indian-oriented. 571 177

The P.T.A. meetings and school commencement exercises I went to were not attended by many Indian-oriented people. No Indian-oriented were seen at two P.T.A. meetings, each attended by from fifty to sixty people. In 1960, twenty-one (over a third) of an eighth grade graduating class of sixty-seven were from identifiable Indian families, yet few Indian-oriented adults were in the audience. 571 177 [572] 177 573

The high school commencement held on the evening of the same day, differed considerably in the nature of attendance. In this instance a class of thirty-three graduating seniors included twenty-five tribal members. Eight of this number (approximately a fourth) could be identified as children from Indian-oriented families. The proportion of Indian-oriented among the seniors was smaller than for the eighth grade class, but more Indian-oriented adults were at the high school commencement, making up an estimated fifth of the audience. Even so, the largest part of those in attendance were white-oriented. Even smaller Indian-oriented attendance was reported for the preceding and following graduations.

The larger Indian attendance in 1960 may have been because the valedictorian was a full-blood boy. I had seen him dancing at the Indian social dances and at the Indian Days Celebrations, and on these occasions he wore a beaded buckskin suit that he had made and decorated himself. He was one of a very few young men who wore their hair in braids. Perhaps some of the Indian-oriented came to the commencement to see an Indian-oriented boy graduate with honors.

Attendance at the annual Easter Egg Hunts and the Fishing Derbies is more indicative. While these affairs are not comparable to an Indian Days Celebration, they are community sponsored, scheduled, recurrent and locally advertised. Children participate regardless of the orientation of their families. Perhaps these events and the previously described track meet are most comparable and the differences in attendance at each most revealing. In short, Indian-oriented parents attended the track meet but did not respond in the same way to the Egg Hunt and Fishing Derbies. 541 [77]

I observed the Easter Egg Hunt of 1960 and arrived too late for this event in following years. As usual it was held in an open field behind the Museum of the Plains Indian on the afternoon of Easter Sunday. The weather was much the same as it was for the track meet held one month later—cold and windy. Approximately five hundred children, from Indian, white, and white-oriented families took part. Children from the Cut Bank Boarding Dormitory were brought

¹³ The description of these particular events is restricted to those held in Browning because it is the largest and most heterogeneous of the reservation communities. People of both orientations, local people and residents from the other communities, come to Browning to attend events that interest them. Attendance at similar affairs in outlying communities reflects the orientation balance of the community. Children's activities at Starr School and Heart Butte, for instance, are attended by more Indian-oriented people; similar events at Babb or East Glacier are attended almost wholly by white-oriented persons. Browning differs in that it has quite large populations of people from both orientations; selective turnout here is more significant.

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563 He neither knew what the "Indian" boys in his class did or thought, nor could
871 he say what had caused others he had known in the lower grades to drop out. His
father (mixed-blood, businessman and active in community service) explained
this: "He doesn't go around with those fellows."

563 "The full-bloods are forgotten. The half-breeds up north are running
things for their own benefit."—a full-blood.

"Full-bloods probably expect to be discriminated against. They realize that
they are in a different class, so act that way and so are discriminated against. They
tend to stay by themselves."—a mixed-blood.

"There is conflict between the full-bloods and the 'breeds.' The latter are
more progressive. They try to push things the old folks don't understand. It's not
a caste division, just a mistrust of methods and plans."—a full-blood.

Numerous factors are at work here—historical, economic, political and
cultural. The elements of status and values that underlie these attitudes will be
examined further in the following chapters. The accounts are offered here to
indicate that a bicultural division is recognized by the people themselves, that
the two groups have been stereotyped and labeled, and that both spatial and social
separation have been attributed to these groups. One consequence has been a
curtailment of social interaction between members of the two societies.

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563 The concepts of cultural orientation cannot be confused with the stereo-
types. The real division is cultural. Orientational differences however tend to
produce behaviors frequently attributed to the stereotype. "Full-blood" behavior
in many dimensions is the behavior of an Indian-oriented person. People who are
Indian-oriented, regardless of genetic heritage or degree of acculturation toward
American life, will adopt practices that others attribute to "Indians." Then too
it must be remembered that orientations are not indelible labels to apply to
individuals, but rather are indicative of social structure. They stand for social
categories for which there are predictable behavioral expectations, norms, and
underlying values. Individuals can move from one category to another by con-
forming to the proper set of norms and expressing the values common to that
category. The degree of Indian "blood" does not "tell."

Summary

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571 I have tried to show that the Indian-oriented and white-oriented people
engage in social interaction most frequently with members of their own group.
A series of public, formal and informal, social situations was reviewed, some of
which were attended predominantly by Indian-oriented people, others by white.
Another list of public gatherings was given in which attendance from the two
groups was relatively equal. It was shown further that informal grouping at these
affairs tended to be with people of like orientation. An additional tendency for
limitations upon intergroup sociality was observed in informal and private enter-
taining and visiting, and the overt recognition of this social separation was com-
mented upon.

The key to these attendance patterns seems to lie in the kinds of social

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affairs that attract the Indian audience. Where the social activity contains some symbol of Indian-ness, the Indian-oriented turn out. The Indian Days Celebration, the Indian social dances, bundle openings, stick games, and song services are highly symbolic to the Indian. Consequently, the attendance at these is mainly Indian-oriented. Conversely, white-oriented interest is minimal.

Where the occasions lack continuity with Indian interests, or lack some symbolic aspect for Indian identification, the Indian-oriented fail to participate. In the areas of sociality where mixed audiences were reported, some Indian identification symbols can be recognized. The rodeo, for instance, is directly related to past Indian experience with horses and with cattle raising—a form of white economic activity at which the Indian has achieved some success.

Sports events, too, carry some of the flavor of racing, physical activity and prowess from the past, and again, and probably of more significance, these are areas in which the Indian has been able to achieve a success recognized as such by the members of the dominant society. When viewed in this light, the Easter Egg Hunt stands in sharp contrast to the children's track meet. Sports are given Indian recognition while an Egg Hunt symbolizes nothing Indian. Indian-oriented people turn out to watch their children compete in the track meet but not at the Egg Hunt.

The high school commencement appeared to attract more Indian-oriented persons than did the eighth grade graduation program, but this may be because the high school valedictorian was an Indian. He was a symbol of Indian success in a white man's game, and it was success by an Indian who practiced Indian ways.

The observed interaction patterns indicate that there are separate social groups. Examination of the values and status systems will further substantiate this relationship and give additional insight into the reasons behind the kinds of participation in community and private social affairs.

Values

Introduction

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177 TWO AGGREGATES OF PEOPLE each of which shares distinctive patterns of sociocultural characteristics have been identified as Indian-oriented and white-oriented, and evidence has been offered to show that the people within each category associate more frequently with each other than with people of the other orientation. If these are more than just aggregates of people with similar interests, however, it is necessary to show that each has the *esprit de corps* that Linton called the motivating power of a society (Linton 1936:107). This power can be found in the goals and related value judgments of each group, and these are examined in this chapter to see if contrast can be found in the value patterns of the categories.

121 People judge and evaluate the behavior of others on the basis of shared goals or purposes that follow from the premises they hold about the nature of man and the world and these premises influence how they raise their children. Values then relate to desired ends, decisions about the proper means to these ends are ethical judgments. These matters are intricately interwoven and do not separate easily for discussion. In one sense members of both divisions share common goals—to live the good life and be well thought of by their fellows. But these seemingly common goals are based on and defined by differing premises, emphasize different standards. I will try to show how these groups differ in their interpretation of the good life and the good person, and what characteristics each uses in judging and evaluating their fellow man. Values, purposes, means, ends may not unravel well, but the basic idea should be clear—prestige accrues to those who best fit the model of the ideal person held by the members of the group that “counts” for the individual. If there are two contrasting social groups on the reservation, the ideals and attendant evaluations should differ accordingly.

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Many of our smart children have disappointed us. They didn't go ahead as they planned. Money problems was one reason, but many had no vital interest. They really didn't know what they wanted to take when they went to school. Because of this they found the courses uninteresting and discouraging.

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Wisdom and knowledge, of both old and new ways, serve other ends but appear to be most highly valued when they contribute to the major goal of being Indian. Both Indian- and white-oriented people value wisdom, but the contrasting goals lead to the accenting of different realms of knowledge and the uses to which it is put.

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Generosity is a key value of Indian-oriented persons that has survived with the least amount of reinterpretation. It is considered an important requisite to being an Indian and, as such, appears to provide the major motivation for acquiring skill and wisdom. People are expected to share with others and to help those less fortunate than themselves.

Generosity takes both private and public forms. Indian-oriented persons are hospitable and feel a responsibility to care for others that insures that the improvident, aged, disabled or sick will be provided with the minimum requirements of existence. This relatively private form of generosity is relieved somewhat by welfare and charitable sources, but often these are not enough and some people need the help of family and neighbors to make it through the winter. In some cases those on welfare may be considered to be better off than others, and their grown children turn to them for help that is seldom refused.

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Public generosity covers the various "give-away" ceremonies mentioned in earlier chapters. This giving is largely a reciprocal gift exchange among peers. No strict accounting is kept of gifts and repayments, but the reciprocity is recognized and people joke about giving blankets to a visiting friend so they can get them back next year when they visit the other reservation. Private generosity by all and public display by a few are forms of generosity that are expected and are controlled ultimately by expressions of public opinion. Many people act generously and spontaneously because it is the right thing to do; others give more begrudgingly because of fear of social disapproval. A person who fails to provide what is expected is called "stingy," and undisputed stinginess causes a person to lose standing within the Indian-oriented group. People do not take chances that might start such talk. Thus the discussion completes the circle back to self-concern and the controlled expression of individualism. A white official told of an incident that sounded probable even though its authenticity could not be checked.

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A woman asked him to order a young man out of her house. He had moved in with the family and was just hanging around, eating their food, and making no effort to help out. When the official suggested that she was the one to tell him to leave, she replied that she could not do that. But it would be all right if he would come and do it for her: "Only don't tell that I said for you to do it." Another man had returned to take up residence on the reservation after being away for several years. But the pressures for generosity and the compul-

VALUES OF THE INDIAN-ORIENTED GROUP • 101

sion to follow the rules made him think he had better leave again. "This town breaks you; too many friends that want money and rides here and there."

Candidates for council offices often make gifts of a dollar or two to prospective voters as evidence of their generosity, an act that is criticized if the man has not been helpful in the past. "At election time they're always willing to lend you a dollar, but after they're in they won't give you a nickel." Past generosity, however, can pay off. "They told me not to vote for him, that he wouldn't do a good job. I think that's right, but I voted for him anyway because he always helps people that need it." The feasting at Indian Days, bundle openings, song services, and the political rallies appears to be another form of generosity display.

Generosity can block successful economic adaptation. Ewers wrote that sharing and generosity survived in the 1940s and that the "drain of the 'have-nots' upon the 'haves' has the effect of limiting the economic progress of ambitious individuals" and possibly was "inhibiting the desire of fullbloods of extensive family connections to achieve material success" (Ewers 1955:321-322). In 1959 and 1960 three cases were known, and others reported, where land was sold for large sums of money. Relatives and friends moved in with the recipients and spent several days celebrating the sale. Some stayed to live with the now 'rich' friend or relative. This is reported to be a common practice that has caused the rapid depletion of such income and returned numerous, now landless, Indians to poverty and the welfare rolls.

Often this is more than economic reciprocity. It is a necessary adaptive arrangement for the poor. The economic flow may be one way with the returns, if any, very difficult to assess. In 1959 I visited the home of an elderly woman who had received a large oil bonus payment several years earlier. The money was held in trust by the B.I.A. and she was given regular payments from this account to cover her living expenses. She lived in a good house in town and had living with her at the time two adult sons and several grandchildren. Several other people seemed to come and go, including an elderly couple—a son-in-law by a previous marriage and his present wife. This wife told me that she came by occasionally to help with the housework, and that every week the old lady received her money from the superintendent. "She gives me \$5.00, my husband \$5.00 and \$15.00 to her eldest son." It appeared that quite a few people were partially dependent upon her largess. When the old woman died it was discovered that her account was depleted and she was in debt. The household broke up, the people scattered to fend for themselves, and the now vacant house is falling apart. The reciprocity seemed to be mainly in chores and social support provided by a circle of dependent kin and friends.

The emphasis on generosity has still another face. Too much success, too much accumulation of unshared property, brings the quick reaction of gossip. "He's stingy." "He's trying to live like a white man." "They get all the cattle and won't let us have any." Only a very few who wish to be accepted by the Indian-oriented have been able to walk the fine line between stinginess and generosity. These few have become economically self-sufficient and yet retained a name for generosity among their following by judicious and controlled giving.

Summary

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177 The Indian- and white-oriented groups share some values that appear to be congruent but are seen to have differing definitions. Members of both groups, for instance, would acknowledge that it is good to be generous, but the white-oriented man qualifies his generosity by a prior emphasis upon self-support. It is not good to carry generosity to a fault by impoverishing one's self and family as Indian-oriented men are wont to do. The Indian values work and acquisition of property as a means to an end, but does not agree with the white-oriented persons who see these qualities as ends in themselves.

The values are defined differently according to the different assumptions about the good man and the good life of the two groups. White-oriented activities are directed toward future progress, an end the Indian-oriented find unrealistic. Past experiences have provided no basis for optimism about the future. The major goal of the latter group appears to be the maintenance of Indian identity, and the value judgments are influenced by this end.

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• 571 The feeling of circularity that wells up in this and other discussions of values, goals, means, ends, purposes, and so on, reflects, I believe, the very circularity of the social scene. People learn to value the things valued by their group, to behave in ways that are acceptable to the group to which they do or aspire to belong. Self-concern may be both the motive for general conformity as well as the root of control; self-concern and concern for status make one responsive to gossip and criticism as well as contributing to one's being a follower and supporter of valued ideals and practices. Membership in one group requires approximation of standards that differ from and may militate against membership in the other. Adding this dimension to the contrasting patterns of association further supports the view that these are separate societies. The value patterns of each group are used by the group members as bases from which to judge the social worth of their neighbors, and the values are reflected in the assignment of the status positions that are considered next.

STATUS AMONG THE INDIAN-ORIENTED • 115

Because of their Indian-orientation, however, they must curb their economic ambitions in order to maintain their status. The very capabilities that make them valuable leaders within their group subject them to constant surveillance and criticism. In addition, their youth is held against them. In the past, status through wisdom came with age and in the eyes of many of their people they are wise too soon. So these men cannot acquire too much; they must be generous and helpful, and build a following that will attest to their wisdom, skill, and generosity in future years.

It is possible that in later life these men might take over the positions of custodians of tradition as these become vacated by the present chiefs, but this is doubtful, even though some people occasionally refer to them as "young chiefs." The tentative prediction would be that high status positions of both types will be filled from below where the factors of relative education and experience tend to produce differential experience within the Indian-oriented society. People of lower status already give indications as to how these positions will be filled.

The interpreters also differ from the chiefs, and many other Indian-oriented people as well, in the furnishing and maintenance of their homes. Most of the chiefs live in small frame or log houses with minimal services and simple furniture. They rarely have appliances—a wood range serves for both cooking and heating. The structures are unpainted inside and out and no attempt has been made to fence or otherwise mark the house lot or "territory." The interpreters, on the other hand, seem to have accepted more of the white-oriented interest in things. As a class, they live in larger three- or five-room houses which are painted on the inside at least. They build closets, have more furniture, own refrigerators, radios, and television sets. Often there is a fenced area around the house or some other border defining feature. The interpreters' homes look like those of many middle status white-oriented families—larger and better furnished than that of Bob Sorrel Horse, but not as freshly painted and filled with things as was Ray Hawkins' home. Here again is a sign that the interpreters aim for the best of two worlds.

INDIAN-ORIENTED LOW STATUS Low status Indian-oriented people can be described by characteristics quite similar to those of the same status in white-oriented society. These people are poor. Some are hard workers and others improvident, but lack of training limits these men to irregular wage labor. They do not find regular seasonal jobs but must take work where and when they can find it. Several of the improvident ones, like their white-oriented counterparts, are called "bums" and "winos" and are problem cases for the authorities. But there is a difference between men of the differing orientations even at the lowest status level. They face in different cultural directions, and the analysis of the data from my sample showed that the Indian-oriented low status man is more a part of his society than the lower-class white man is in his.

In contrast with the white-oriented group, economic factors fail to separate the low from many of the middle status people in Indian-oriented society. Irregular work, low income, poorly maintained and crowded houses are characteristics shared by people variously ranked on the status scale. The ultimate criterion for status assignment is social participation.

Low status people do not take part in as many social activities as do the

554 people of higher positions; they are often present but usually as onlookers. It is
 571 significant, however, that they are not isolated from their group as is often the case
 554 with the improvident white-oriented person. The low status Indian-oriented man
 571 is welcome to attend Indian activities if he behaves. If he misbehaves he is eased
 626 out, perhaps locked up in the jail, but people do not disown him for this. They
 joke about it as if his actions were to be expected, and welcome him back when
 he settles down. If he behaves he may be given a job to do, such as ushering,
 police duty, or helping with the serving of the food. He is one of them, perhaps
 a kinsman, at least a familiar person in the community and he is given some com-
 munity support.

554 These men have much spare time and spend a great deal of it in the street
 461 corner groups. If they, or one of their friends, have a little cash or can beg some
 [279] from a tourist, they will buy a bottle of wine and get drunk. Such loafing and
 drinking groups are made up of Indian-oriented people.

554 These men fill a traditional and expected status. The Blackfeet had, in the
 177 past, a few improvident and unfortunate people who lacked the "power" to suc-
 571 ceed. This was not held against them and it was a social duty to see that they
 did not starve. The low status people of today are treated in much the same way;
 they are thought of as unlucky and not entirely responsible for their condition.
 They may stir up trouble but the tendency is to keep the quarrels within the
 group; they are criticized and admonished but not ostracized. White and white-
 oriented persons let the more impersonal authorities deal with the low status
 trouble makers and expect public agencies to take care of the shiftless ones. The
 Indian-oriented group feels a responsibility for their own low status people. They
 are "our people" and "we" take care of them. Family and group responsibility
 does not end when authorities step in, and the improvident are cared for regardless
 of welfare. The aid may be given grudgingly but it is forthcoming.

554 INDIAN-ORIENTED MIDDLE STATUS The majority of the Indian-oriented
 group are assigned to a middle status that encompasses a broad range of individual
 differences. The same qualities requisite for high status count here, and conformity
 to Indian values is more important than economic condition.

These are the people who live the Indian-oriented life described in the
 previous chapters, who affirm the Indian-oriented values and both support and
 take part in the Indian-oriented society. The middle class actively supports the
 leaders of their choice in both the traditional and the modern spheres and differs
 [626] from the lower status people because of their more complete involvement in the
 life of the community. It is the attitudes, opinions, acts, and wants of these people
 that assign and validate social status; they are the Indian-oriented public that
 awards some people with loyalty and influence and penalize others with gossip,
 criticism, and shame.

This class includes people with a wide range of knowledge of and skills
 in the traditional culture, and in education and experience with the whites. These
 differences in their knowledge and skills establish both limitations on and possi-
 bilities for upward mobility for these people. The poorly educated person cannot
 expect to gain high status of the interpreter type, and as a consequence they are
 most apt to follow the pattern established by the chiefs. There is evidence in the

THE BLACKFEET

[ca. 1850]

224 Poor families without an able-bodied hunter in their group
571 or unable to borrow buffalo horses were forced to rely upon the
735 charity of the wealthy for their buffalo meat. When the chase
took place near camp, some poor people took their dogs or
scrawny horses out where the buffalo were butchered. There
they generally could find successful hunters who would give
them meat.

Once an old couple went out from camp hoping to receive
some meat from the hunters. They found a young man lying
beside a partly butchered buffalo. The old people threw water
in his face and he did not move. Thinking he was dead, they
started back to camp to tell the people. When they had gone
a short distance, they turned around and saw the young man
standing up butchering the animal. When he returned to camp,
the old people told him they had brought him back to life. Then
he reluctantly gave them some of the best cuts of his meat. Other
people claimed the young fellow had played dead to avoid giving
any of his meat to the aged couple. He was nicknamed Play-
ing-Dead-Beside-the-Buffalo. This trait of stinginess was detest-
ed by the Blackfeet.

224 In summer, when all the bands of the tribe gathered prior
571 to the sun dance, the head chief, through his announcer, de-
clared the hunting regulation in force. All the Indians fully
224 understood that this meant that anyone who sought to kill buffalo
689 on his own before the tribal hunt was organized would be se-
verely punished by members of the men's societies chosen to
police the camp. Anyone caught disturbing the buffalo herds
upon which the whole camp relied for their subsistence had his
meat taken from him, his weapons broken, his clothing torn, and
perhaps his riding gear destroyed by the police.⁴

224 Among those bands well supplied with horses, the traditional
178 winter method of hunting buffalo by driving them into pounds
or over high cliffs was falling into disuse. The last Piegan buffalo
drive took place in the 1850's. The peculiar circumstances of

⁴ John C. Ewers, "The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. Bulletin 159, 153-66.

Indian pony gradually was replaced by larger and stronger animals resulting from the breeding of white men's work horses with the Indians' stock. 178
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Nevertheless, the continuity of Blackfoot culture was not entirely broken by the cultural revolution that followed the disappearance of the buffalo and the abandonment of the nomadic, hunting existence. In the 1940's, six decades after the buffalo were gone, the influence of the Horse Culture Period of buffalo days survived. Survivals were noticeable in Blackfoot work habits, their concepts of wealth, their recreation, social relations, and ideals.

After the buffalo were gone the Blackfoot took readily to cattle raising but showed little interest in or aptitude for farming, which involved techniques and procedures alien to their experience. In the 1940's Agricultural Extension Agents on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana recognized that the successful Indian farmers were persons of considerable white admixture. The fullblood group showed little interest in settling on the irrigated projects to grow crops. Fullbloods still preferred to make their living by raising livestock, primarily cattle and sheep. This preference is traceable to the tribe's generations of accumulated experience in the care of horses and its lack of crop-growing traditions. 233
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I have pointed out (p. 30) the survival of the concept of wealth in terms of horse ownership among the older fullbloods on this reservation, even though horses in the 1940's had relatively little monetary value. This is definitely a survival from the days when individual wealth was determined primarily in terms of horse ownership. 178
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I have also (p. 234) referred to the survival of interest in horse racing, long a favorite sport among the Blackfoot. In fact their ready acceptance of the entire rodeo complex may be attributed to their background of appreciation of skill in the handling of horses. 178
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There remains an appreciation of the value of ceremonial bundles among the Blackfoot which is out of all proportion to the function of those bundles in the religious life of these people in modern times. A number of bundle owners have neither the knowledge nor the desire to use these sacred bundles ceremonially. Yet they are reluctant to part with them, mindful of the fact that their former owners prized them as equivalent in value to many horses. The horse medicine cult, though limited in function, still holds a respected position in the religious life of the fullbloods. 178
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Blackfoot social relations are still marked by the dependence of poor relatives upon tribal members who have achieved a degree of economic success. This drain of the "have-nots" upon the "haves" has the effect of limiting the economic progress of ambitious indi- 178
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viduals, if not actually of inhibiting the desire of fullbloods of extensive family connections to achieve material success. Along with that traditional custom of sharing, the traditional ideal of generosity survives to inhibit the adaptation of the white man's ideals of budgeted expenditures and saving for a rainy day.

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The intense patriotism of the Blackfoot in volunteering their services to their country in two World Wars is a survival of the traditional Blackfoot concept of the warrior ideal. During World War II, when the Blackfoot furnished a much greater proportion of their able-bodied population for military service than was required of them, one still heard fullblood parents comforted by the old adage of buffalo days, "It is better for a man to die in war than to die of old age or sickness."

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Finally, there survives among the Blackfoot a genuine love of horses that is the heritage of a people whose ancestors' admiration for horses amounted to veneration.

[1877-1894]

857 In the children's play camp, however, age-grades were frequently forgotten and boys and girls imitated the life of adults. Some chose to be husband and wife, others mother and child. Pointed Plume says,

[561]

Usually we had partners, but my older sister almost always played with me. I was her son. She thought it safest if she took care of me, because I was a *minipoka*.

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No such supervision was given a Ned Sloane. He frankly tells of his sex play with a little girl of five.

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The poorer children served the rich children much as the poorer adults served the rich adults. Sometimes this was a matter of free choice, a desire to be identified with a more fortunate child. Pointed Plume says,

Bird Shooter was not a *minipoka* but he liked to play with the favorite children. His father was related to my father. He had just enough money to keep going. Bird Shooter was a little younger than I. He used to stand at the stick and call the winner in the arrow game.

The service of others, however, was bought and paid for. Pointed Plume says,

One of our favorite pastimes was making horses out of mud. Neither I nor Buffalo Horn was particularly good at this and we tried to induce Big Bonnet, who was poor but a good sculptor, to play with us and make horses for us. At first he didn't care to, but I finally persuaded him to come to my house. My father gave him moccasins and a pair of pants and my mother fed him well, so he remained with us. He and I were the same age, about ten.

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And this service was exacted once it had been bought. Pointed Plume says,

Big Bonnet used to play the arrow game with us. Arguments would arise as to who was the winner. Big Bonnet wanted his arrows back and would fight the others. If I and Buffalo Horn beat him up he would go home, but he had to come back the next day to play because he was paid for.

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Poor boys tried to get even. Ned Sloane says,

When I was six, there was a favorite child who lived in our band and who wore a weasel skin charm which hung down his back. One day, one of the older boys grabbed the weasel skin and twisted it so that the cord almost choked the *minipoka*. He finally freed himself and went crying to his father. The gang broke up quickly. They were afraid when the father of the boy screamed at them the worst curse known to the Blood, "May you have an early death!"

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SUMMARY.—These first seventeen years on the reservation saw the greatest change in Blood society since the introduction of the horse. A people who had been nomadic, subsisted on buffalo, and raided their neighbors, both white and Indian, for horses that alone brought prestige and the possibility of social advance—these people were now settled within the

[1894-1910]

434 The total income of the tribe had risen to \$29,000.¹⁰⁴ Of this amount,
311 one-half was derived from farm products including hay. The two were, in
fact, almost synonymous, for only 51½ acres were still being cultivated.¹⁰⁵
The erratic subsistence farming was rapidly abandoned and the whole
[463] tribe turned to providing fodder for the new herds: "Almost the only occupation
beside looking after the cattle and horses are hay making and
freighting coal."¹⁰⁶

246 Many factors encouraged the Blood to join in the haying experiment.
657 First, a market existed both on and off the reservation: what the Indian
[434] herds did not need was sold to the Mounted Police or neighboring white
ranchers. Second, there was no onerous cultivation. Except for a few irrigated
acres, the hay that was cropped grew wild on the prairies. And finally,
in a new setting, the haying camps recalled the great days of their hunting
[464] past. In the late summer, the tribe again made for the open range. Any man
who owned a wagon, a team of horses, and a few implements, could be sure
of some income from the new industry. Those who lacked even these few
basic necessities could attach themselves to wealthier men. As in the earlier
time, their labor would be rewarded by some small share in the harvest.
[556] Advantage still remained with the men of wealth, but participation was
[184] assured at a low level, and even the poor man had a chance.

The camps also strengthened, if only temporarily, bonds of family and
[571] band. The notorious Charcoal,¹⁰⁷ who had left his home in anger and moved
[621] far off by himself, joined the haying camp, again accepted the leadership
[593] of his brother and helped bring in the crop. Desire to share in the new wealth
[182] overcame violent intra-familial resentment.

In 1902, one-third of the adult males on the reserve owned cattle.¹⁰⁸
464 By 1909, practically every man could boast a cow. Numerous circumstances
[231] contributed to the more equitable distribution of wealth during the first
decade of the century. Such industries as haying, hauling, or working in the
[434] beet factory were open to everyone. In 1905, beet fields were planted at
Raymond,¹⁰⁹ and two years later the Blood earned \$9000 topping beets and
[316] carting them to the factory.¹¹⁰ And the report continues, "One of our
[472] Indians named Black Horse has a small coal mine on the banks of the St.
Mary's River from which he makes his living mining and selling coal to the

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 228.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 220.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 132.

¹⁰⁷ Charcoal later murdered his wife's lover. He killed himself as he was about to be apprehended by the Agency police assisted by his own brothers.

¹⁰⁸ 1904, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 237.

¹⁰⁹ 1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 203.

¹¹⁰ 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 161.

Men's Societies

575 In the buffalo period, these age-graded organizations were the chief
182 agents of tribal discipline.¹⁴⁶ They maintained order in the camp and on the
[625] march; they policed the communal hunts; they destroyed the tipi of anyone
[561] who pursued the game before the word was given; they publicly ravaged
[689] and, at times, killed the unfaithful wife or promiscuous sister of a fellow-
[684] member if he so requested. And probably as a corollary to these significant
[571] functions, the men's organizations, within their respective age-grades,
developed a solidarity that was in striking contrast to the general brittle-
ness of Blood relationships.

572 One tie in Blood society is sacred—the tie between a man and his *taka*,
608 his special friend. The choice of a boon companion is made in childhood; it
is upheld throughout life. It is determined by age, by propinquity, and social
[178] position. In the past, *taka* shared the trials of hunt and war and a woman's
[836] favors before marriage. Today of necessity the last alone remains a test of
[601] friendship, but *taka* still use each other's kinship terms: the mother of one
becomes the mother of the other, the sister of one, the sister of the other,
and they assume the responsibilities implied in these and similar relation-
ships.

575 Within the men's societies, alternate grades know each other as "fight-
572 ers," but those who are members at the same time call each other *taka*.
561 The term bespeaks the mutual loyalty expected of them. As a group they
buy into a society; as a group they sell out. Wissler writes, "this companion-
ship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot
scheme."¹⁴⁷

575 But while the members or *taka* preserve a solid front within their age-
182 grade, the societies themselves retain little of their former importance.
178 There are no more communal hunts; there are no more protected marches.
[561] Only at the Sun Dance, when the bands gather to raise the sun pole and
[796] make their transfers do the societies operate as of old. For the rest, they
function as social and ceremonial entities, interested primarily in feasting
and exchange.

575 In 1939, a sampling of 305 adult males (practically the entire adult male
[162] population) showed that, at some time, 205 had been members of the
Pigeons, 189 of the Brave Dogs, 68 of the Braves, 23 of the Black Seizers,
25 of the Crow Carriers, 4 of the Crazy Dogs, 130 of the Horns, 1 of the

¹⁴⁶ For a full discussion of these societies, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365-460; for age grades and police power, pp. 365-70; for general pattern, p. 424 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

At school a child is cut off from his home. At home, because of the distances between homesteads, he is cut off from the easy companionship of his age-grade, a companionship that developed naturally in the play camps of an earlier day and remained a continuing force for stability in the community. But even more disconcertingly, he is frequently cut off from those favored relatives from whom he expects unquestioning affection and support, while at the same time he is more intensely exposed to familial dissension. In time of trouble he still escapes, but often the only comfort possible is "going outside" and fighting it out alone, a convenient though perhaps not entirely satisfactory preparation for manhood. 571 156 155 [154]

Escape, in this violent society, is a necessary mechanism to relieve tension; but it is also a simple way to avoid responsibility. When Pansy Curtis cut her brother's neck while trimming his hair, she bound it with a towel and ran off to the house of her father's aunt without telling anyone; when she put all her aunt's fresh meat through the chopper instead of hanging it up to dry, she left her small cousin to bear the blame and hastened off to her father in the fields. When Charlie Bruce hacked off his sister's thumb, he stuck it on with axle grease and ran away before his grandmother returned; when he finished slaughtering a new-born calf before his admiring playmates, he left them to confess the crime and hurried to a forgiving aunt. 571 154

Patterns of escape established in childhood are repeated in adult life. Most situations are met by avoiding blame, shifting it, running away. The man who murdered his wife in 1939, immediately left his house to visit a neighbor. There he exhibited his gashed hand and said, "I got this while I was taking the butcher knife from my wife. She tried to kill me." But he failed to mention that she was lying mutilated and unconscious on the kitchen floor. The boy who was jailed for intoxication claimed that the bottle was not his and that he had not drunk a drop. When domestic conflict arises, either wife or husband leaves, sometimes temporarily, sometimes forever. Relatives and reserve may intervene, but "to go on a trip" is still the most favored solution in case of difficulty.

Siblings

The basic competitiveness of the society is frequently expressed in the sibling relationships. The institutionalization of the favorite inevitably creates an overtly rivalrous situation. Among the Teton Dakota, who call their privileged ones "child-beloveds," this situation for a variety of reasons is muted,¹⁹⁹ but among the Blood, the exploitation of the "child of plenty" for purposes of prestige has been completely uninhibited. 593 958 [71] [554]

¹⁹⁹ Goldfrank, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

- 159 "Go home you *minipoka*," you child of plenty. Herbert is still dependent upon the uncertain bounty of his wife's family. When Helen needs a can of tomatoes she asks her father for ten cents.

VII. CONCLUSION

- 178 Blood society in the buffalo days was highly individualistic and competitive. In the reserve period, it remained so, but with certain differences.
105 The old society, despite its basically competitive character, required
571 considerable cooperation in order to function at all. Buffalo hunting, the
[181] essential economy, depended on communal effort and group discipline. Effective policing demanded a continuing solidarity within the men's societies. The need for joint defence encouraged neighborliness and restraint within the camp circle. A leader to win enduring support had to be generous. A follower to earn a just reward had to be loyal.
- 657 In the new situation, much of this was changed. The buffalo "went out
178 of sight" and the cooperative mechanisms, which had operated against
571 considerable odds even in the preceding decades, lost their most significant
105 functions. The disciplinary duties of the men's societies were confined to the few weeks of the Sun Dance (throughout the year, the agency police maintained order on the reserve). The new economies, even more than the old, stressed individual ownership and individual performance. No longer fearing attack, the Blood built their substantial houses and barns on separated homesteads. Leader and follower no longer looked to each other for loyalty and support. In the new society, the government agency became the "generous giver."
- [657] The substitution of an impersonal government agency for a freely chosen band leader offered a more certain security on the material level, but reduced the need for mutual help and joint responsibility among the members of the tribe. The new economies, however, made community action even less necessary. Alone, or with one or two helpers, a Blood can successfully cultivate his own acres and care for his stock. What cooperation exists rarely goes beyond a father and his sons, a father-in-law and son-in-law, or a couple of brothers. Generosity, which in most cases was little more than a means of winning support and keeping it, now operates within an increasingly restricted circle—and with increasing rarity. Gestures of hospitality are still made, but they are quickly regretted. A wife's brother or father may still help in the purchase of ceremonial privilege, but such occasions are none too frequent at best and many families shun them altogether.
- [121] Within a continuing competitive framework, program and accident at different periods of time affected various groups in the society differently.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Ralph Linton, *Acculturation and Processes of Culture Change*, p. 468.

- 592 an extended family, the eldest male was in authority, though any of the
596 constituent households might terminate this authority by camping else-
[621] where. Similarly the senior member of an extended family could curtail
the authority of the band chief by withdrawing with his kinsmen to another
band or by forming an independent band, were the group sufficiently large.
● [571] All groupings larger than the individual household presupposed that the
military and economic benefits of membership outweighed the disad-
vantages of submission to authority.
- 596 Assuming stable conditions, authority in the extended family lay with the
561 senior male. At his death the next oldest was presumptive head of the fam-
[603] ily. As a group there was little contact between the young and those of
grandparent status, though an individual might warm to one or more of his
[626] grandchildren and favor him in various ways. A child who spent consider-
able time with old people received the mildly derogatory term of *kipite'puka*
("old-woman-child") because of imitating unconsciously the mannerisms
of old people and hence acting beyond its age. Although an exception to the
rule correlating age with authority may appear in the individual household,
[711] even here the elder might be active in an advisory capacity. Only under
extreme circumstances were old people allowed to die as outcasts. When
transportation was difficult or food running short, then with regret, often
[886] at their own request, the old were left behind on the march. To be sure, the
rule of senior authority was modified when it was realized that senility had
appeared. Then the next in age tactfully assumed the major administrative
role in the extended family or the band, if it had not already been relin-
quished.
- 556 The age-authority hierarchy was further reinforced by economic consider-
431 ations. It was the pattern to associate prestige with generosity. Those who
561 gave generously increased their own prestige, providing that they did not
bankrupt themselves thereby. Within the extended family it was the
593 practice to encourage siblings to give to their juniors. This was not only an
554 expression of endearment or of aiding a weaker person, as it was often
phrased. It also had the effect of putting juniors in the debt of seniors. To
be sure these debts were not the same within the family as outside the
family between unrelated persons, for repayment between relatives was
[684] not categorical. Yet we have such instances as a young man raiding for
horses to repay his father. The father had given horses in settlement to
a husband whose wife had had an affair with the son. In other cases where
an older brother had made his son a favored child, the younger brother gave
abundantly to this favored child, "to repay the older brother for his kind-
ness to him in his youth." We have also noted that young men returning
from war always gave some portion of their booty to older brothers. The
practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long
as the younger."

practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long 000 as the younger."

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal security. Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humiliation, for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat. In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the correspondent was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son."

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in Northern Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of one's children's spouses (*ndax'-soku*). The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close, implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation. Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occasioned by their imperious authority.

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen-

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 [602] iority, tempered, to be sure, by bonds of affection between members of a family, yet finally secure only in the company of one's equals, the comrades, who were for the most part outside the kin group.

Generation

- 561 As seniority ordered the relations between males and to a lesser degree
 602 between females, the concept of generation was the more important one
 601 ordering the relations of Northern Blackfoot women to each other. With the
 593 exception of the sibling terms, which differentiate older and younger than
 561 ego, the basis for social relationships was fixed by generation. Three main
 types of relationship may be distinguished: (1) Mother-daughter relationships implied sacrifice by mother for daughter and obedience by daughter to mother's commands. A mother sent her daughter with a tipi made by her own hands to her first husband. She had also made moccasins for her future son-in-law and his parents. At the birth of her daughter's child, she was a prominent figure in helping at the delivery. (2) In the absence of a mother, the older sister fulfilled these obligations, but in general the relations of older to younger sister required more reciprocity than was the case with ego's relationship to her mother. Once the younger sister reached a position where she had means of repaying, she was expected to repay in various ways her older sister's kindness. Such cooperation was the ideal, and a Blackfoot argument for sororal polygyny held that blood sisters made a more harmonious household than unrelated co-wives. However, in practice the older sister often sat leisurely in command of her husband's household as the "sits-beside-him wife" while her younger sisters performed the arduous work in the tipi and cared for the children. (3) The relationship of grandmother to granddaughter was typically remote, somewhat reserved and distant as before all elderly people. Grandmothers, however, made a practice of befriending and maintaining warm, affectionate relations with one or more of their grandchildren. Thus nearly every child could count on warmth and devotion in at least one of the austere old women.
- 561 These generations are conceptually arranged in two different ways. All
 601 women of a mother and daughter line arranged themselves in biological generation terms. In addition there is evidence for counting generation in a second way, which fixed the relationships to the lateral lines. After ego's marriage cross-cousins on the mother's side were all called "grandchildren." At this time also the wives of this line of mother's brothers were no longer called "mother" but "daughter-in-law." On the paternal side father's sister was called "grandmother." Our older informants state that the female descending line of this woman was also called "grandmother." Today, however, the descendants are called "older sister" or "younger sister." The term "grandmother" is, nevertheless, in keeping with the practice of calling
- [179]

- 667 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
 585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt
 to make her feel at home in this new situation.
- 593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
 562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
 [778] ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
 [575] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these
 796 activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
 593 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
 562 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
 [575] and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
 under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain com-
 munity respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the
 [577] meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
 this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower,
 she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all
 was faithful to her husband.
- 562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
 842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general
 social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest
 [603] treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
 [597] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
 raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also
 562 the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
 796 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
 778 Horn and *mo'toki* societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
 [575] brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
 was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her hus-
 [432] band the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
 [571] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
 "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus
 581 through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
 582 obtain the rewards of the culture.

Balancing of the Lines

- 601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
 602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight,
 if any, emphasis on the paternal line.
- 601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
 607 brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authori-
 ties has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful
 relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

It will have been observed that the woman's system of relating herself to other women is very similar to the Crow kinship structure. Though the presence of such a structure may imply matrilineality, the fact that no clan structure existed necessarily dissipates this possibility. Rather, the somewhat fluid band group contained relatives of a wide variety of relationship and even some unrelated persons if the chief were wealthy and generous. Rather than an emphasis on kin relationships as a patrilineality or a matrilineality would imply, we find instead that a conceivably close bond of blood may be sacrificed for a remoter relationship with greater economic advantage. It is as if one blood relationship were nearly as important as any other and that each merely served as the entrée for advancing one's private interests. 601
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Points of Weakness in the Structure

There were two main points of weakness in the kinship structure which we shall discuss, one in the relationship between siblings, and another in the relationship of husband and wife. Both of these weaknesses were in a large measure due to the disrupting effect of Plains individualism. 121

We have already noted that brothers might be in conflict, although the emphasis was certainly on fraternal solidarity. There was a continual potential conflict between familial solidarity with authority vested in the eldest and the outspoken individualism of the Plains expressed as a desire to be unhampered by outside authorities. This progressed in the Northern Blackfoot to the extent of dissipating even familial groupings. The leaders of a band were usually close relatives. After Crowfoot's death, for example, the leadership of his band passed through the line of his brothers in order of their age and today has ended nominally with the eldest son of Crowfoot's youngest brother. The followers of a chief, however, were usually any relative of the chief but not necessarily close relatives, for these closer relatives of lesser people tended to move to other camps where opportunities were better. Rather than risk conflict with an elder brother and rather than cooperate to make a common living, brothers moved away to other camps where opportunities might be better with some other relative. The following case of a young man and his mother illustrates the ephemerality of authority of one sibling over another and the solution by moving to another camp. 593
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Many Mules and his mother camped with Big Black Collar, mother's brother, for Many Mules' father had died. The agent offered cattle to the Indians, and Calf Bull, Many Mules' sister's husband, who was chief of a band, bought some. He also advised Many Mules to buy some, but Many Mules said he must first consult his "older brother." Big Black Collar advised against it, saying that those who bought cattle would be sent north and denied the weekly meat rations. Many Mules followed his older brother's advice at that time but in the meanwhile helped Calf Bull from time to time with his cattle. When subsequently the agent offered cattle free to any Indian,

- 593 Many Mules obtained five head and drove them into the corral of Big Black Collar.
621 On seeing them, Big Black Collar was furious and ordered Many Mules to get rid of
571 them. Instead Many Mules moved with his mother to the camp of his mother's sis-
ter's husband who was a cattle owner.

The result of this situation for a young man was that he moved from one relative's camp to the next until he found the authority which was least arduous. However, until he became economically independent, he could not maintain a wife and tipi. This may be considered another reward for marriage: when one becomes supreme authority in one's own tipi.

- [581] Marriage in itself was an unstable affair due to other factors. Here there exists a conflict between the male dogma that any woman was a legitimate sex object and the ideal embodied in the Sun Dance vower, that a bride be not only a virgin but as a wife remain perpetually faithful to her husband.
937 Unmarried men were always a threat to the stability of a marriage, for few
562 men would tolerate clandestine affairs on the part of their wives. The relative rarity of Sun Dance vowers as compared with those women who were ineligible to vow the Sun Dance because of past misconduct bespeaks the
[571] frequency of these illicit affairs. As women were credited with the initiative in love, the punishment was usually directed toward them rather than the co-respondent, and this punishment was often severe in the extreme. Patterns of male suspiciousness and jealousy were rampant: Wives were beaten
[578] merely after seeing another man beat his wife; suspicious men even moved from the protection of a camp to the open prairie where they were easy prey to enemy raiding parties, rather than risk their wives in a camp filled with
[593] bachelors; young men suspected of complicity were attacked without warning by irate husbands. The reason for this conduct may be partly understood on the basis of affronted authority. As unfaithfulness on the part of a wife threatened the very existence of the domain over which a man had supreme authority and might reduce him to acknowledging authority in another tipi group as an ignominious visitor who could not care for himself, marriage stability was a very personal and vested interest for a male. To protect the household the punishment was extreme, varying from mutilation in order to make her less attractive, to society rape fests that she might be given her fill of sexual experience with other men, to merely shooting her. All this was carried out in a fit of rage under the name of disillusioned love: "I loved her so much, and then she was unfaithful to me." The restorative aspects of these measures must be stressed, for since the wife was usually not sent away, the punishment was intended to make the household more secure. Should the extreme have occurred, murder was always followed by the customary mourning rites that approximated those following natural death. Only when the integrity of the household could be preserved in any
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[765]

case, as where there was more than one wife, was a woman sent away, for above all the preservation of the household was primary. 593 571

Of course, unfaithfulness reflected unfavorably also on the reputation of the woman's family. Thus, a wife's male relative in cases where the woman was at fault cooperated in the attempts at education and sanctioned this severe treatment. In fact, this constituted a bond of interest between a wife's relatives and her husband. During the actual fracas between husband, wife and co-respondent, the person expected to restore equilibrium was the elder brother or father of the co-respondent. He, seeking to reduce the tension between the families, would send horses to the aggrieved husband. No rebuke would be given a son who was co-respondent not only because the woman was theoretically responsible, but, as one informant expressed it, "because the father would think back to the days when he was young and understand how his boy felt." 837 684 [554] [606]

Generally the strength of the conjugal family varies inversely with the strength of the blood bonds. Curiously, however, Plains individualism to the point of anarchy served to maintain the strength of both. When the irritations of the authority of one's elders became too great, one might establish his own tipi if economically possible. But the instability of the marriage bond often sent one back to renew the relationship with people of one's own blood. At one end the security of a man of accomplishment was in his own tipi of wives and children; at the other extreme, with complete failure of all endeavors, security could be found in the group of his own blood as refuge. 593 571 [182] [154]

Current Changes in Kinship

With the settling of the Blackfoot on a reservation, three main changes have occurred. The old economy disappeared, and in its place agriculture and herding under white management have been substituted. With this change the nomadic mode of life has been replaced by a semi-sedentary life within the limits of an Indian reserve. The band as the social unit for defensive war, residence and hunting, has disintegrated into its component units, the extended families. Whites have moved into southern Alberta, where they have engulfed the reserve. Though the Blackfoot, because of their status as treaty Indians, live separately from the Whites, the latter influence Blackfoot institutions. 657 178 [621] [596] [177]

In what ways has the kinship terminology been influenced by these changes? The majority of such changes can be subsumed under an extension of the principle of age-grading with reference to ego and ego's father. While formerly all the women of father's family were termed "grandparent," today father's younger sister becomes ego's "older sister," or "younger sib- 561 601 177 178

561 ling." Even in mother's family age-grading shows its effects: Mother's
601 mother's brother is often called "grandparent" today. His age difference
177 with reference to ego makes the former term of address seem inappropriate.
178 The women of mother's family tend to be addressed in terms appropriate to
their age, so that the mother's older sister may occasionally be termed
"grandparent" rather than mother, if she seems to be considerably older
than ego. In the corresponding generations below ego the term "younger
sibling" is rather loosely applied on the basis of age. Thus a younger brother
and his son may both be called "younger sibling" when the difference in age
is not very great. If the age difference is greater, the son of a younger sibling
would be called "grandson." Similarly for a male speaker, the children
through the female line of sister tend to be called "grandchildren" as soon as
the age difference becomes great enough. This is now preferred to addressing
them as "younger sibling." In keeping with this change is the disappearance
of the term "grandparent" as applied to the female paternal cross-cousin.

571 This change reflects a social trend on the reservation toward gerontoc-
657 racy. There exists a definite nostalgia for the buffalo days when the Black-
888 foot were not a dependent minority. Those who actually experienced hunt-
[554] ing and the warpath thereby acquire prestige. In turn those nearer in age to
the glorious past share a diminishing portion of this glory. The sons of re-
nowned warriors take pride in knowing in detail the exploits of their fathers.
Through the mere change from a nomadic to a sedentary life the authority
of the old has also been enhanced. Formerly, limitation of authority was
achieved by the universal right of a man to move to the jurisdiction of some
other less irritating authority. Though the right is still recognized to-day,
freedom of movement from the effects of this authority is more difficult on a
reserve. In the recent past a man deserted his wife and children to live with
[762] another woman. Bound to the reserve, he faced daily social censure for his
acts until he terminated his marginal position by suicide. Moreover, the
freedom of action under an authority is smaller, if only because the author-
[621] ity is closer to its object. The band made up of various related kinsmen or
[596] clusters of kinsmen has dissolved into extended families. With this change
many of the economic and political functions of the band chiefs have
[192] devolved upon the head of the extended family, a smaller and more intimate
[622] group than the band. Hence, evasion of responsibility is less likely today.
[428] In addition certain factors have increased the force of this authority, pri-
[177] marily the increased importance of inheritance. Having adopted white tech-
niques of living and white means of production, with all that house, furnish-
ings, and farm implements imply, the number of objects to be transmitted
at death has increased. Indeed, the value of these objects has also increased
in view of the ritual required to obtain them in the white economy. Thus,
through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old
have increased their power.

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 have increased their power.

This general increase in authority of the aged has not been made without 657
 sacrifice in some spheres. Specifically, the final economic and political author- 596
 ity now lies with the agency. However, within the frame of white authority 571
 many decisions remain in the hands of the extended family. Among these 561
 are the choice of residential site on unoccupied land, caring for the aged 178
 beyond the allotted rations of food and clothing, designating among the
 group of dependents those who shall carry out specific duties, and the man-
 agement of certain undertakings such as trapping and horse raising. The [797]
 missionary schools have assumed control over the young children and now [584]
 sanction, and even try to arrange, the initial marriage of a young man with
 a girl ready to leave the school. However, the head of an extended family
 may exert influence after the school years are over and select mates for sub-
 sequent marriages of his kinsmen. At the same time the younger, active men
 are usually in immediate control of farm production, the cattle, and the
 labor in the agency-operated coal mine. Indeed, there have been many
 instances of reserve cleavage based on the interests of the young "progres-
 sives" as pitted against the old conservatives. However, though the young
 speak vehemently in meetings against the authority of the old, when the
 issues call for action, few turn against the venerated authority of the elders.

III. NORTHERN BLACKFOOT KINSHIP TERMS*

1. *nos'xr*, "my grandparent." 601
 - (a) Male of father's family or its collateral who is older than father; his wife.
 - (b) Female (and her husband) of father's family or its collateral who is of father's generation or antecedent generations (note exception under 5d, 6d and 7c).
 - (c) Mother's father and his sibling; his or her spouse; mother's mother and her female sibling; her spouse.
 - (d) Sister considerably older than ego (alternative form, cf. 5).
 - (e) (Male speaker.) Wife's mother; wife's father; wife's father's sibling or his or her spouse; wife's mother's sister or her spouse.
 - (f) (Female speaker.) Member of husband's family older than husband; his or her spouse.
 - (g) (Rare with female referent.) Descendant of the female line of father's sister; her husband.
2. *nos'a*, "my father."
 - (a) Father; comrade of father, i.e., age mate of father (cf. 16).
 - (b) Husband of mother's sister.
 - (c) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Husband of a female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's parents' sibling.

* All terms, once defined according to Blackfoot usage, will be so used in defining additional terms.

114 passed. However, intra-family economic dependencies and household
592 population had increased. In Chapter III of this work I explore com-
178 parisons of 1921 and 1966 households in much greater detail. I double
127 the 1921 sample by including the Old Agency District farming and ranch-
ing cooperatives, acreages cultivated correlated with family type (a
128 test of my hypothesis concerning family types and economic resources not
121 made previously), racial ancestry of unsuccessful and relatively success-
ful farmers, ranchers, and wage earners, among other topics.

114 I also analyzed Blackfeet family ethics, using twenty conjugal
593 pairs who were raising or had raised children in Heart Butte, and showed
591 that repeated exposures to a wide range of kinsmen, brought about main-
591 ly by economic need, generate cooperativeness and generosity. At least 50
per cent of the families in my sample could not successfully pursue the
individualistic Protestant ethic because poverty thrust them back on
kinsmen for economic support. I imputed a middle class ethic to those
[182] who succeeded economically, based on my observations of their behavior.
114 Families with incomes of approximately \$4,000 per annum and up tended to
591 sever mutual economic assistance relationships and generally their re-
593 sources are consumed by the individual family unit. Automobiles, land,
591 houses and home improvements are purchased when possible. Generally a
strategy of individual family enrichment is pursued, at least during the
period when these families are doing reasonably well.

114 And finally, I briefly assessed the authority positions of males
593 and females in the parental generation. Authority in the family was
562 strongly linked with control and ownership of family dwellings and the

CHAPTER III

THE BLACKFEET RESERVATION AND ITS PEOPLE

Introduction

657 The Blackfeet Indian Reservation, as a geographical region
● 571 with definable borders, can be described by the usual environmental
619 concepts. The people who live here, however, cannot be treated so
101 simply, because the population is greater than the membership of the
Blackfeet tribe for whom the reservation was established. Both whites
and Indians live here, and among the latter are found both members and
non-members of the tribe. Yet all share many political, economic and
sociocultural activities that make up the general way of life of this
region, and of the counties within which the reservation lies, the
state of Montana and the United States of America.

This is an American community and exhibits many of the social
and cultural dimensions of such a community. But, it differs because
it is located on an Indian reservation and the bulk of the population
is Indian. These people are Indians in addition to being citizens of
the United States, Montana, county and town.

101 For this reason the discussion is presented in two parts;
128 (1) a description of the economic, political and social dimensions
that are shared by the greatest number of the people of the region,
and (2) an examination of the unique and particular cast given to
these dimensions because this is a reservation for Indians. By this
means an adequate summary of the environmental, social and cultural

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511 While the sample covers a wide economic range, none of the men could be called wealthy. Two cases are comparatively well-off with annual incomes that approximate \$9,000, but the average income for the sample is \$2,300 with only twelve of the thirty-one cases making the average or above. The median annual income for males in Glacier County in 1959 was \$3,119,¹⁶⁹ but the median income for the sample is only \$1,800. Only twelve cases attain an index of 14 (the mid-point) or above when measured by the indices of economic achievement. This appears to require a minimum annual income close to the average, a steady seasonal job, residence in better than a shack or cabin, a car, and independence of outside subsistence aid. The income requirements for such an index are not high; a man who gains the upper half of the economic scale is not rich.

Summary

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[177] The tribal members range over a broad scale of economic achievement. Although some men are well-off, the majority are below the county median, which means there is a large number of persons of low economic standing. The figures indicate that the Indian-oriented people tend to range lower than the white-oriented on the economic scale and observation supports this.

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184 Economic achievement is only one more dimension to consider in the derivation and description of the reservation social structure. If

¹⁶⁹ U.S., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28C, pp. 152, 157.

571 economic status were the major criterion for the recognition of
184 differences among this population, the poor should stand out as a
separate and relatively homogeneous social class. However, it has
been shown already that certain cultural and social characteristics
[177] segment the population. It would appear then that there is some
socially recognized difference between Indian-oriented and white-
oriented poor people, and this, by inference, should hold equally
through the middle and upper ranges of the economic scale. Socio-
cultural rather than economic factors appear more important in the
identification of such groups.

Economic achievement is a concomitant of the sociocultural
orientations; it reflects these orientations. How it does this remains
to be seen, but at least the economic dimension is an attribute of both
groups.

177 In the process of economic analysis other information about
571 the orientation groups has been developed. Along with low cash income,
184 the Indian-oriented people are seen to live in poorer housing, own
fewer cars, give less attention to the maintenance of house and car,
and to make little use of land. Other factors such as family dependence
and welfare use appear to follow low income. Such data may be important
to the developing picture of a multisociety reservation community.

128 The emphasis can now turn to the tentatively recognized
orientation groups. These now can be described more completely,
additional data introduced, and the social, economic and cultural
dimensions given new meaning within the context of the social structure
of each group.

177 As the field work progressed, it became clear that in some
184 situations people of both orientations participated in relatively
128 equal numbers; in other contexts the Indian-oriented people formed the
majority in attendance, while other social gatherings attracted mainly
white-oriented persons. The three types of social gatherings are
analyzed separately and in that order.

Social Occasions Attended by
People from Both Orientations

177 People of both orientations were noted, most frequently, mixing
184 and participating at political rallies, public Tribal Council meetings,
● 571 church, funerals, sports events and rodeos. Other situations where
relatively equal participation between people of both orientations was
noticeable were in business and work contexts where the interaction
was structured in buyer-seller, service-client, and employer-employee
relationships.

Tribal Council Meetings

177 Council meetings drew attendance from all segments of the tribe,
184 as it was at these meetings that issues of interest to all were under
643 discussion. The largest crowds turned out when meetings were held to
consider whether or not to vote a per capita payment, or when Indian
land use was being considered. At such meetings people of both
orientations were present and equally vocal in support of or in
opposition to proposals made. Both orientation groups had council
representation.

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Members of the sample and their friends were seen in attendance at three rodeos held during the summer of 1960. It was possible to conclude that the rodeo appealed to many people and that they turned out on these occasions regardless of cultural orientation.

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The informal grouping in the stands and around the grounds appeared to be based on family and friendship ties. Families--parents, children, and grandchildren--sat together. People apart from their families sat with their friends. The cultural orientations appeared to operate in the smaller groupings that made up the larger crowd.

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The sports events drew smaller numbers of people than did the rodeos, but the nature of participation and attendance was similar. One such event, an elementary school track meet, appeared particularly noteworthy because it is comparable in many respects to the Easter Egg Hunt described in a later section.

The track and field meet between the Browning and neighborhood elementary schools was an activity in which children participated without regard to the orientation of their families. It was held at Browning, out-of-doors, on a cold, blustery spring day. People of both [602] orientations attended--parents, teachers and track fans. Informal groupings by family and friends were noted here too, but it was a moving crowd and more difficult than the rodeo to assess in terms of informal family and friendship groups.

Social Occasions with
Predominant Indian-Oriented Attendance

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The social occasions at which it was observed that the participants and spectators were predominantly people of Indian orientation

177 included public, semiprivate and private gatherings. Some were
184 formal occasions while others were informal in their organization.

571 Formal public occasions include the North American Indian Days
Celebrations at Browning, a Sun Dance held in conjunction with one
of these, and periodic Indian dances. Horse races and stick game
gatherings in the outlying communities were frequent public entertain-
ment organized on a less formal basis. The private and semiprivate
gatherings are those to which attendance is invited, tacitly or
directly, and some of the formal occasions for such congregation would
be medicine bundle openings, curing ceremonies, song services and
private parties. House to house visiting, gatherings of families and
friends, and the visiting grouping at the formal public activities,
in office buildings and stores, and street corner visiting are called
informal private interaction.

North American Indian Days Celebrations

177 The Indian Days celebrations are annual affairs sponsored by
184 the reservation community. The Tribal Council makes an appropriation
541 to underwrite the celebration, and local businessmen make cash
contributions or put up prizes for competitive events. The four day
celebration, a re-enactment of the traditional Blackfeet summer
encampment, is advertised widely as a tourist attraction. Families
who own tipis are encouraged to pitch them on the encampment grounds
[574] and to camp there with their families. Indians from other reservations
are invited resulting in a camp circle of fifty or more tipis formed
by local people, visitors from the Canadian Reserves--Blood, North
Piegan, Blackfeet and Cree--and from surrounding United States Indian

177 Economic factors help to make this possible. There is little
184 else to do between infrequent jobs, and money is scarce. Some people
574 will move into the bars when they have money, but there is a limit upon
how much time and money can be spent there. Others have no interest
in the bars anyway. So men and women pass the time with the street
corner groups or wander off to continue visiting in cars or at one
another's homes.

177 Indian-oriented people appear to spend more time in social
184 interaction with people of similar orientation than with others. It
● 571 was to be expected from the way Indian orientation was defined, that
people of this category would participate in the social activities
that have been described. An examination of the limited participation
by these people in other reservation social activities makes the social
unity of this group more apparent.

Social Occasions Where
Attendance is Largely White-Oriented

The areas of predominantly white-oriented interaction are again
both public and private. The public social gatherings that were
observed most frequently centered around school and civic service themes
and included P.T.A. meetings, school programs, commencement exercises,
Youth Club activities, children's Fishing Derbies, and an annual Easter
Egg Hunt. Other activities, such as bowling tournaments and civic club
meetings, are of a semi-private nature in that there is selective
membership. The private occasions, as with the Indian-oriented group,
would include parties, picnics, and visiting.

School and Children's Activities

177 There appear to be no large community enterprises that draw

184 crowds of white-oriented people together comparable to the Indian

● 571 Days Encampment and the Indian dances around which so much Indian-oriented sociability is focused. Perhaps the unbalanced attendance at school and civic meetings--activities involving the children of the community--is most striking and comparable. The limited adult attendance at these events indicates a real social division within the community that can be explained, in part, by the cultural orientations.

177 School plays, commencement exercises, and the other child and
184 youth activities in Browning invite public support.¹⁷⁴ Children from
877 families of both orientations attend and participate; yet very few of the parents who turn out to watch their children perform are Indian-oriented.

P.T.A. meetings and school commencement exercises were not attended by many Indian-oriented people. No Indian-oriented were seen at two P.T.A. meetings, each attended by from fifty to sixty people.

[368] ¹⁷⁴The description of these particular events is restricted to those held in Browning because it is the largest and most heterogeneous of the reservation communities. People of both orientations, local people and residents from the other communities come to Browning to attend things that interest them. Attendance at similar affairs in outlying communities reflects the orientation balance of the community. Children's activities at Starr School and Heart Butte, for instance, are attended by more Indian-oriented people; similar events at Babb or East Glacier are attended almost wholly by white-oriented persons. Browning differs in that it has quite large populations of people from both orientations; selective turnout here is more significant.

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One informant reported that little social distinction is felt by the children until they reach the upper grades. Then the more Indian children develop feelings of inferiority and inadequacy and drop out of school. "Much of the school problem is social," this informant states. "You see a bunch of grade school kids playing, mixed white and Indian and you stop and ask them who is white and who is Indian? They just stare at you. The question doesn't make sense. At high school things begin to show up. Mostly social. The kids begin to want to invite each other to affairs at home. They begin to notice that they haven't the kind of clothes others do. They begin to feel they can't participate and drop out."

A recent high school graduate (mixed-blood, white-oriented) could not offer any explanation of full-blood problems in the schools, either scholastic or social. He neither knew what the Indian boys in his class did or thought, nor could he say what had caused others he had known in the lower grades to drop out. His father explained this: "He doesn't go around with those fellows."

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"The full-bloods are forgotten. The half-breeds up north are running things for their own benefit."

--a full-blood

"Full-bloods probably expect to be discriminated against. They realize that they are in a different class, so act that way and so are discriminated against. They tend to stay by themselves."

--a mixed-blood

There is conflict between the full-bloods and the breeds. The latter are more progressive. They try to push things the old folks don't understand. It's not a caste division, just a mistrust of methods and plans.

--a full-blood

The elements of status, values and goals that underlie these attitudes will be examined further in the following chapters. The accounts are offered here to indicate that a bicultural division is recognized by the people themselves, that the two groups have been stereotyped and labeled, and that both spatial and social separation [571] have been attributed to these groups. One consequence has been a curtailment of social interaction between members of the two societies.

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The concepts of cultural orientation cannot be confused with the stereotypes. The real division is cultural. Orientational differences however tend to produce behaviors frequently attributed to the stereotype. "Full-blood" behavior in many dimensions is the behavior of an Indian-oriented person. People who are Indian-oriented, regardless of genetic heritage or degree of acculturation toward American life, will adopt practices that others attribute to "Indians." Then too it must be remembered that orientations are not indelible labels to apply to individuals, but are indicative rather of social structure. They stand for social categories for which there are predictable behavioral expectations, norms and underlying values. Individuals can move from one category to another by conforming to the proper set of norms and expressing the values common to that category. The degree of Indian "blood" does not "tell."

Summary

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The Indian-oriented and white-oriented people have been shown to engage in social interaction most frequently with members of their own group. A series of public, formal and informal social situations was reviewed, some of which were attended predominantly by Indian-oriented people, others by white. Another list of public gatherings was given in which attendance from the two groups was relatively equal. It was shown further that informal grouping at these affairs tended to be with people of like orientation. An additional tendency for limitations upon intergroup sociality was observed in informal and private entertaining and visiting, and the overt recognition of this social separation was commented upon.

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571 The key to these attendance patterns seems to lie in the kinds of social affairs that attract the Indian audience. Where the social activity contains some symbol of Indian-ness, the Indian-oriented turned out. The Indian Days Celebration, the Indian social dances, bundle openings, stick games and song services were highly symbolic to the Indian. Consequently, the attendance at these was mainly Indian-oriented. Inversely, white-oriented interest was minimal.

Where the occasions lacked continuity with Indian interests, or lacked some symbolic aspect for Indian-identification, the Indian-oriented failed to participate. In the areas of sociality where mixed audiences were reported, some Indian identification symbols can be recognized. The rodeo, for instance, is directly related to past Indian experience with horses, and with cattle raising--a form of white economic activity at which the Indian has achieved some success. This is also an activity that, in many ways, can be related by analogy to activities of the buffalo hunting days.

Sports events, too, carry some of the flavor of racing, physical activity and prowess from the past, and again these are areas in which the Indian has been able to achieve a success recognized as such by the members of the dominant society. When viewed in this light, the Easter Egg Hunt stands in sharp contrast to the children's track meet. Sports are given Indian recognition while an Egg Hunt symbolizes nothing Indian. Indian-oriented people turned out to watch their children compete in the track meet but not at the Egg Hunt.

The high school commencement appeared to attract more Indian-oriented persons than did the eighth grade graduation program, but this

- 184 may be because the high school Valedictorian was an Indian. He was a
177 symbol of Indian success in a white man's game, and it was success by
● 571 an Indian who practiced Indian ways.

The observed interaction patterns indicate that the orientation
[129] categories are separate social groups. Examination of the values and
status systems of the subjects will further substantiate this, and give
additional insight into the reasons behind the kinds of participation
in community and private social affairs.

CHAPTER X

THE BICULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESERVATION COMMUNITY: VALUES

Introduction

177 Two aggregates of people who share distinctive patterns of
184 sociocultural characteristics have been identified as Indian-oriented
● 571 and white-oriented. Evidence offered in the preceding chapter showed
128 that the people within each category associate more frequently with
121 each other than with people of the other orientation. If these are
more than just aggregates of people with similar interests, however,
it is necessary to show that each has the esprit de corps that Linton
called the motivating power of a society.¹⁷⁷ This force can be found
in the goals and related values of each group, and these are examined
in this chapter to see if contrast can be found in the value patterns
of the categories.

Values of the White-Oriented Group

177 The category "white-oriented" and the characteristics by
184 which it is defined in the context of the study, intimates that this
group, in most respects, approximates the social structuring and
culture of the American community of which the reservation is a part.
The values of this segment of the reservation population are assumed
to be similar to those found in a neighboring non-Indian community.

¹⁷⁷Linton, 1936, op. cit.

177 then,¹⁸⁵ but this goal is hard to translate into meaningful immediate
184 objectives for the children. They accept the idea of schooling but
871 find the subjects they study uninteresting and unrelated to any
personal goals they might formulate. A well-educated Indian-oriented
leader expressed his thoughts on this problem as it relates to college
attendance:

Many of our smart children have disappointed us. They didn't
go ahead as they planned. Money problems was one reason, but
many had no vital interest. They really didn't know what they
wanted to take when they went to school. Because of this they
found the courses uninteresting and discouraging.

177 Wisdom and knowledge, of both old and new ways, serve other
184 ends, but appear to be most highly valued when they contribute to the
183 major goal of being Indian. Both Indian and white-oriented people
[186] value wisdom, but the contrasting goals lead to the accenting of
different realms of knowledge and the uses to which it is put.

177 Generosity is a key value of Indian-oriented persons that has
184 survived with the least amount of reinterpretation. It is considered
183 an important requisite to being an Indian and, as such, appears to
● 571 provide the major motivation for acquiring skill and wisdom. People
[186] are expected to share with others and to help those less fortunate than
themselves.

Generosity takes both private and public forms. Indian-oriented
persons are hospitable and feel a responsibility to care for others that

¹⁸⁵A form of "Antagonistic Acculturation." See George Devereux
and Edwin M. Loeb, "Antagonistic Acculturation," American Sociological
Review, Vol. VIII, 1943, pp. 133-147. This acceptance is related to
their Type III: "The adoption of new means without a corresponding
adoption of the relevant goals . . . in order to support existing goals,
sometimes even for the specific purpose of resisting the compulsory
adoption of the goals of the lending group" (p. 140).

177 insures that the improvident, aged, disabled or sick will be provided
184 with the minimum requirements of existence. This relatively private
183 form of generosity is relieved somewhat by welfare and charitable
● 571 sources but often these are not enough and some people need the help
of family and neighbors to make it through the winter. In some cases
those on welfare may be considered to be better off than others and
their grown children turn to them for help that is seldom refused.

177 Public generosity covers the various "give-away" ceremonies
184 mentioned in earlier chapters. This giving is largely a reciprocal
183 gift exchange among peers. No strict accounting is kept of gifts and
431 repayments, but the reciprocity is recognized and informants joke
about giving blankets to a visiting friend so they can get them back
next year when they visit the other reservation. Private generosity
by all and public display by a few are forms of generosity that are
expected and are controlled ultimately by expressions of public opinion.

[626] Many people act generously and spontaneously because it is the right
thing to do; others give more begrudgingly because of fear of social
[558] disapproval. A person who fails to provide what is expected is called
"stingy," and undisputed stinginess causes a person to lose standing
within the Indian-oriented group. People do not take chances that
might start such talk. A white official told of an incident that
sounded probable even though its authenticity could not be checked,

A woman asked him to order a young man out of her house. He
had moved in with the family and was just hanging around,
eating their food, and making no effort to help out. When the
official suggested that she was the one to tell him to leave,
she replied that she could not do that. But it would be all
right if he would come and do it for her: "Only don't tell
that I said for you to do it."

184 An informant returned to take up residence on the reservation after
177 being away for several years. But the pressures for generosity and
183 the compulsion to follow the rules made him think he had better leave
571 again. "This town breaks you. Too many friends that want money and
[626] rides here and there."

184 Candidates for Council offices often make gifts of a dollar
183 or two to prospective voters as evidence of their generosity, an act
177 that is criticized if the man has not been helpful in the past. "At
431 election time they're always willing to lend you a dollar, but after
666 they're in they won't give you a nickel." Past generosity, however,
can pay off. "They told me not to vote for him, that he wouldn't do
a good job. I think that's right, but I voted for him anyway because
he always helps people that need it."

184 Generosity can block successful economic adaptation. Evers
183 wrote that sharing and generosity survived in the 1940's and that the
177 "drain of the 'have-nots' upon the 'haves' has the effect of limiting
571 the economic progress of ambitious individuals" and possibly was
433 "inhibiting the desire of fullbloods of extensive family connections to
425 achieve material success."¹⁸⁶ In 1959 and 1960 three cases were known,
and others reported, where land was sold for large sums of money.
Relatives and friends moved in with the recipients and spent several
days celebrating the sale. Some stayed to live with the now "rich"
friend or relative. This is reported to be a common practice that has
caused the rapid depletion of such income and returned numerous, now
landless, Indians to poverty and the welfare rolls.

¹⁸⁶Evers, 1955, op. cit., pp. 321-322.

194 Too much success, too much accumulation of unshared property,
183 brings the quick reaction of gossip. "He's stingy." "He's trying to
177 live like a white man." "They get all the cattle and won't let us
● 571 have any." Only a very few who wish to be accepted by the Indian-
[626] oriented have been able to walk the fine line between stinginess and
generosity. These few have become economically self-sufficient and
yet retained a name for generosity among their following by judicious
and controlled giving.

Summary

184 The Indian and white-oriented groups share some values that
183 appear congruent but are seen to have differing definitions. Members
177 of both groups, for instance, would acknowledge that it is good to be
generous, but the white-oriented man qualifies his generosity by a
prior emphasis upon self-support. It is not good to carry generosity
to a fault by impoverishing one's self and family as Indian-oriented
men are wont to do. The Indian values work and acquisition of property
as a means to an end, but does not agree with the white-oriented persons
who see these qualities as ends in themselves.

The values are defined differently according to the divergent
goals of the groups. White-oriented goals are directed toward future
progress, an end the Indian-oriented find unrealistic. The major goal
of the latter group appears to be the maintenance of Indian identity
and the values are interpreted to serve this end.

The two orientation categories are seen to have contrasting
patterns of both association and of values, further supporting the view

CHAPTER XI

THE BICULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
RESERVATION COMMUNITY: STATUS

Introduction

177 If the orientation categories each have their own associational
184 patterns and value systems, then it remains to show that they each also
571 have the third attribute required by Linton's definition of society--
121 patterns of social organization.¹⁸⁷ The social organizations of the
categories are not examined in detail. Rather the nature and separate-
ness of the two systems are illustrated by reviewing the status patterns
within each group. A man conforms to a particular set of values and
adopts the related goals according to the group with which he wishes to
identify. He acquires a higher or lower status within that group
according to how well he exhibits those values. The status systems of
the two orientational groups are examined to identify areas of contrast
and to suggest the nature of intragroup leadership and social organiza-
tion.

Status among the White-Oriented

565 The white-oriented society can be divided roughly into three
177 status classes: low, middle, and high. Class boundaries are indistinct,
184 but high status can be distinguished from low, while the middle class
shades imperceptibly into the two extremes.

¹⁸⁷ Linton, 1936, op. cit.

High Status¹⁹³

177 The joint requirements of maintaining Indian identity and
184 achieving this within the political and economic framework of white
565 culture have opened two channels to prestige and leadership within
554 the Indian-oriented group. The ideal leader in this situation would
be a man wise in the ways of both traditional Blackfeet and modern
American cultures. He would be an authority on how best to be an
Indian, yet well educated, skilled, and able to meet the white man on
common ground. He would be experienced sufficiently to gain acceptance
and influence in white society and to act as an able interpreter of
each group to the other. The history of Blackfeet and American
relations is too short to have produced such an ideal in one man.

177 Instead, as more and more tribal members become white-oriented, some
184 men gain high status by their greater knowledge of Blackfeet culture,
565 as it is known today. These leaders form a least acculturated high
554 status stratum that, for the sake of simplicity, will be called the
● 571 Chiefs. Others, better educated and more experienced with white culture,
find high status by playing the roles of intercultural interpreters and
mediators. They are accomplished spokesmen for the Indian-oriented
point of view, and as a more acculturated high status class are labeled
Interpreters. There are more than generational differences between
these two status types.

[124] ¹⁹³ No high status Indian-oriented persons were included in the
[115] probability sample, but the investigator was acquainted with several
such people, observed and informally interviewed them. The small number
of such people make their inclusion in a small random sample unlikely.
However, the names of three such men were included in the first two
hundred names drawn, but were not of the first fifty selected for inter-
view.

177 and told their sons about that life, so their tie with the past is
184 real. The Chiefs have lived through three-quarters of a century of
554 the changes described in Chapter V, so the wisdom they profess has a
565 basis in experience with the white man. They were active participants
in the trials of change, having tried many of the programs for economic
readaptation with varying degrees of success. In the course of these
economic ups and downs, these men accepted some change, but also tried
to maintain the traditions as they knew them. Their ability to do this
has made them both the advisers and symbols they now are for numbers of
people.

The high status position of these men is fairly stable, but
● [571] still depends on the numbers and support of their followers. Their
[431] claims to status must be validated by continued service and acts of
[556] generosity. They are not wealthy, but they have shared what they had
in better times and perform services presently that validate their
positions.

177 The Chiefs do not present a united front, and are still rivals
184 for additional prestige. They criticize one another and are gossiped
554 about by other people. One old man will dismiss the tales of another
565 as "lies." "He doesn't know anything. The truth is" Another
578 will be criticized for telling war stories. "He once put a story in
[424] the paper about how he scalped a Crow Indian. People laugh at him.
He shouldn't tell those stories, they don't belong to him. My daddy
told me not to tell these war stories, they're the property of the
people who did the things."

177 The Chiefs, then, are honored for their ability to symbolize
184 and to advise about and maintain these traditions. The knowledge and
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177 salaries in Agency or Council positions but they use this income to
184 help support a family ranch. Their less acculturated kinmen work the
565 ranch in return for some financial support. All share in the profits
554 and losses from the enterprise.

Because of their Indian-orientation, however, they must curb
[626] their economic ambitions in order to maintain their status. The very
capabilities that make them valuable leaders within their group subject
[561] them to constant surveillance and criticism. In addition, their youth
[888] is held against them. In the past, status through wisdom came with age
● [571] and in the eyes of many of their people they are wise too soon. So
these men cannot acquire too much; they must be generous and helpful,
and build a following that will attest to their wisdom, skill and
generosity in future years.

It is possible that in later life these men might take over the
positions of custodians of tradition as these become vacated by the
present Chiefs, but this is doubtful, even though some people
occasionally refer to them as "young Chiefs." The tentative prediction
would be that high status positions of both types will be filled from
below where the factors of relative education and experience tend to
produce differential acculturation within the Indian-oriented society.
As will be seen later, people of lower status already give indications
as to how these positions will be filled.

Low Status¹⁹⁷

Low status Indian-oriented people can be described by character-
istics greatly similar to those of the same status in white-oriented

¹⁹⁷Three of the eight Indian-oriented subjects in the proba-
bility sample are ranked in this class (Cases 10, 32, and 47).

177 serving of the food. He is one of them, perhaps a kinsman, at least
184 a familiar person in the community and he is given some community
565 support.
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These men have much spare time and spend a great deal of it
[273] in the streetcorner groups. If they, or one of their friends, has a
little cash or can beg some from a tourist, they will buy a bottle of
wine and get drunk. Such loafing and drinking groups are made up of
Indian-oriented people.

177 These men fill a traditional and expected status. The Blackfeet
184 had, in the past, a few improvident and unfortunate people who lacked
565 the "power" to succeed. This was not held against them and it was a
554 social duty to see that they did not starve. The low status people of
571 today are treated in much the same way; they are thought of as unlucky
735 and not entirely responsible for their condition. They may stir up
[626] trouble but the tendency is to keep the quarrels within the group; they
are criticized, admonished but not ostracized. White and white-oriented
persons let the more impersonal authorities deal with the low status
trouble makers and expect relief to take care of the shiftless ones.
The Indian-oriented group feels a responsibility for their own low
status people. They are "our people" and "we" take care of them.
Family and group responsibility does not end when authorities step in,
and the improvident are cared for regardless of welfare. The aid may
be given grudgingly but it is forthcoming.

177 and gave them less care than did the white-oriented. Their houses were
184 said to lack a "home-like" quality familiar to a middle class American.
565 The observation of middle status Indian-oriented people gave support to
554 these statements.
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183 The observer visited many kinds of Indian homes and found one
511 characteristic common to all, regardless of the size of the house or
the financial standing of the owner. They were places in which to
sleep and eat, but gave little evidence of any concern for comfort.
Several homes had "everything"--a davenport, overstuffed chair,
refrigerator, lamps, radio and television. In these homes, however,
the furniture appeared to be little used, the lamps and appliances
were apt to be out of order and poorly maintained. Other parts of
the house gave evidence of more care. Beds were neatly made and
kitchen areas were orderly and clean. Both bedrooms and kitchens
showed signs of being lived in. Family photographs, religious
calendars and pictures, and Remington prints decorated the walls and
tops of chests of drawers. Visiting with family and friends is done
outside, or in the kitchen if the weather is bad.

The present data do not reveal why Indian-oriented people buy
appliances and furniture. Perhaps they recognize these as white status
symbols. Nevertheless, some Indian-oriented people buy these "material
comforts," but their use and care of them suggest that they are not
highly valued among that group.

Summary

177 In review, the Indian-oriented society is seen to have a differ-
184 ing set of values than the white-oriented group, and their judgments of
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14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Montana

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177 prestige, influence and status rankings, based upon these values,
184 contrast with the white-oriented appraisal of social worth. The
571 different status patterns, and the part the men of different status
554 positions play in the daily life of the tribal community, indicate
565 that each group has its own social structure.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCULTURATION THEORY AND RESEARCH

Introduction

177 This study of the modern Blackfeet has provided reasonable
184 evidence for the conclusion that the tribe is made up of two distinct
571 societies, each with its own culture, associational patterns and
121 internal organization. These contrasting societies are held together
because all tribal members are "Indians" by both legal and social
definitions, and because they live together on an Indian reservation.
The two societies also participate in economic and political systems
at the tribal level that are held in common and these systems, in turn,
are intricately involved in the economic and political life of the
state of Montana and therefore the nation. In addition, various kinds
of kinship ties, coincident interests and association form weaker bonds
between the groups. Most of the arguments in support of this conclusion
have been set forth, so only the salient characteristics of the two
societies will be summarized in order to assess the theoretical impli-
cations of this result.

White-Oriented Society

177 The white-oriented society was found to be organized around
184 basic values of work, self-dependence, individuality and acquisitiveness.
571 People of this orientation believe in these values and, in general,
183 practice them. They keep busy, hold steady jobs, stress their ability

177 to take care of themselves and rarely turn to people outside their
184 immediate family for help.

571 White-oriented persons work toward future goals. They want
183 to build toward the social and economic betterment of themselves and
their children and believe that this can be accomplished best by
education, hard work and acquisitiveness. To this end they build
ranches, farms or businesses, or hold a good steady job. Acquisitive-
ness is evidenced in the ownership and maintenance of property, homes,
furnishings and equipment that contribute to economic independence,
material comfort, and serve also to symbolize, both to the individual
and others, the degree of success achieved.

[186] Persons of this orientation associate mainly with people of
similar orientation and aspire toward full participation in white
society. Such aspirations often are thwarted both because white people
identify the white-oriented with an Indian stereotype, and they see
themselves as "Indians" in opposition to "white men" when the
privileges of Indian status are under attack. The aspirations are
realistic, however, because in most respects the white-oriented segment
of the Blackfoot tribe is similar to and capable of being an integral
part of American society.

[171] A brief investigation of the status system within this group
revealed a pattern similar to the general American class structure.
Like other Americans, white-oriented people make their judgements of
individual worth according to standards and values introduced and
[565] maintained by the dominant society. One can conclude that the white-
oriented society among the Blackfoot is organized around a series of

177 class norms. An individual who aspires to belong to this society
184 will find social support to the extent that he approximates the
● 571 behavior set by these norms and displays a commitment to the goals
183 and values of the group.
[565]

Indian-Oriented Society

The patterns of the Indian-oriented society group stand out clearly despite the many features shared with both white and white-oriented society, and especially in the areas of contrasting goals and values. [186] The major goal of this group is to retain its ethnic identity. Traditional values, and particularly the value placed upon generosity, persist and serve as both symbols of being Indian, and a check against the achievement necessary for full economic integration with the dominant society.

This goal tends to make the Indian-oriented Blackfeet past rather than future oriented. They assert tradition, a tradition made up of remembered Blackfeet culture, borrowed pan-Indian elements and incorporated elements from white culture. The future is uncertain for most Indian-oriented people; past experience has made them suspicious of long-range plans. Consequently, the tendency is to avoid risking present positions for unknown future benefits, to live each day as it comes and to remember real and legendary better days of the past.

177 The Blackfeet Indian-oriented society is organized in conformity
184 to these goals, values and expectations. A man is judged by his display
571 of Indian traits and particularly by how generous he is with the fruits
183 of his achievement. Expressions of such judgements were recorded and
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177 used to construct a scale of status, from low to high, and the re-
184 sulting class structure appeared unrelated to similar levels in both
● 571 the general American society and the white-oriented Blackfeet group.
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Of particular importance, as an indication of Indian-oriented
accommodation to the bicultural milieu, is the bifurcation apparent in
the Indian system that led to the identification of two high status
classes--the Chiefs and the Interpreters. The Chiefs attain influence
because of their knowledge of the past; they represent continuity with
the Blackfeet forebears and the traditional culture. The Interpreters,
on the other hand, are supported because of their knowledge of and
experience with both cultures, which enables them to mediate between
the subordinate and dominant groups.

The Indian-oriented society in these ways provides tribal
members with an alternative route to influence and higher status--
another set of class norms regulating the behavior of persons who wish
to associate with people who aspire to be Indians. Approximation of
these norms and evidence of commitment to the values and goals of the
group will help a man gain acceptance and social support from this
society.

177 Two hundred and thirty years of acculturation has resulted in
184 a bicultural community held together by special bonds. Acculturation
571 has not resulted in tribal disorganization, but in a reorganization
121 that accommodates the simultaneous persistence of many traditional
social and cultural characteristics from both interacting societies.
A large part of the tribe has adopted the culture of the dominant
society and aspires to assimilate. A smaller number, for reasons

177 already mentioned, retains more from the Blackfeet past and resists
184 further change. The reservation social structure has changed to
571 accommodate these contrasting points of view. The structure of a non-
121 reservation community tends to be unilinear, with one general set of
goals, values, and one status hierarchy. But the physical and social
boundaries of the reservation and the tribe incorporate two societies,
and make possible a bilinear structure that offers a choice of alterna-
tive limitations and possibilities for adaptation. An individual,
consciously or otherwise, can choose, and possibly choose again, which
pattern he wishes to follow. His choice, and his acceptance and class
assignment, depend upon what he brings to the situation in the way of
aspirations, experience and capabilities. This will be discussed in a
later section.

Major Characteristics for the
Identification of Group Affiliation

177 One problem shared by this and the other studies mentioned in
184 the introduction is the selection of significant indices of cultural
571 orientation. The question becomes: Is there any simple way to tell
121 whether an individual is Indian-oriented or white-oriented? The answer
128 must be no, both because the differences between the two groups are not
absolute, and because no one index alone seems sufficient. Identifica-
tion or prediction must be based on a configuration that takes into
account several characteristics. Those that appear to be most important,
their strengths, weaknesses and interrelatedness are reviewed briefly
and compared with those used in the other studies.

Economic Factors

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One conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that the more important indices are cultural and social rather than economic. The economic indices support the segmentation but do not explain it. As noted in Chapter VIII, there is greater economic diversity within the groups than between them and the two ranges overlap sufficiently to obscure specific intergroup differences. The best statement permissible is that the Indian-oriented group, as a whole, is poorer, but it does not follow that the majority of the poor people are Indian-oriented. The tendency for Indian-oriented persons to range lower on the economic scale directed attention to historical and cultural factors that might explain this condition, and to how cultural characteristics are both affected by and reflect economic standing.

Interaction

Social interaction is possibly the best single index, but its use requires more than impressionistic measurement. Associational patterns must be observed in varied and reoccurring situations. Nevertheless a good judgement about an individual's cultural orientation can be made by carefully observing with whom he most frequently associates-- if the orientation of his companions is known. This indicates that knowledge of the associational patterns alone is not enough. Something also must be known about the cultural characteristics represented by the social groupings.

The methods used to assess interaction in this study produced supportive evidence for the patterns described. Now that the socio-cultural duality has been outlined, the interaction networks of each or

177 both of these groups could be studied fruitfully with sociometric or
184 other more refined techniques.

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121 Language

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Because the members of the two societies in contact spoke differing languages and members of the tribe today speak one or the other or both languages with varying degrees of proficiency, linguistic knowledge and skill were combined into another index of cultural orientation. Language data were intended to stand for more than the ability to speak English or Blackfeet. Information was presented about the knowledge and use of the language by the subjects, their parents, and the extent to which these languages were used in both the informants' childhood and present homes. This was regarded as an indication of a subject's past experience with other aspects of the two cultures.

Again, the linguistic information alone is not conclusive, but it appears that those who had the most experience with the Blackfeet language shared more of the other Blackfeet elements. The orientation categories developed from the configuration of these characteristics were validated by the observational data about interaction, values and status. Linguistic data is indicative but needs qualification by other information.

Religion

The questions on the schedule about religion did not uncover clear-cut commitments that would make this a good index of orientation. The reported knowledge about and practice of Indian religion and ritual, bolstered by observed and reported participation, helped in defining the categories but had to be considered in relation to other elements.

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A sound assessment of the religious life of the Blackfeet would require a carefully structured investigation that would go beyond the measurement of overt expression. Do Indian and white-oriented churchgoers make similar or differing interpretations of a Protestant church service or a Catholic mass? What degrees of belief in Indian religion are held by the participants in the Sun Dance ceremony--a ritual that has significance both as a religious expression and as a symbol of Indian identity? The results of the study do not answer such questions, but do provide a description of the context that would make such a study more meaningful.

Values

Group goals and values provide explanations for the social separation of the societies but, even though these elements are central to the contrasting cultures, they are not always immediately apparent to the investigator. For this reason they are not convenient indices for quick sorting of a population.

In this study, goals and values were not measured directly but instead were inferred from observational and interview data. This was sufficient to give meaningful support to the demonstration that the orientational categories were separate societies with contrasting cultures. A more precise measure of the values of these two groups would be both possible and important, and would test the validity of the results of this study. But regardless of such results, the conclusions and grouping of people would be based ultimately upon more than differing values. These affective judgements pervade most of the culture and their study would require that attention be given to how

177 interaction, language, economy and other sociocultural characteristics
184 contributed to both the display and the maintenance of these values.

● 571 The discussion can be summarized by stating that there is no
121 one sound index for all these characteristics nor can it be concluded
128 that other important cultural elements were not overlooked.¹⁹⁹ It is
the configuration formed by the association of several variables that
makes for a useful identification of the social and cultural order of
the modern Blackfeet population.

Indices Used in the Other Studies

121 The studies mentioned in the first chapter support this con-
177 clusion because none of them relied upon a single index. Voget used
184 differences in social participation and values as the major indices
171 for dividing the Crow into classes that reflected varying degrees of
acculturation. Bruner divided the Mandan-Hidatsa according to parti-
cipation in the give-away dances, but the dance was a symbol of two
variables, interaction and values. Spindler found social interaction
and religious commitment were practical indices for assessing levels
of acculturation,²⁰⁰ but he demonstrated by statistical tests that
these represented configurations made up of numerous sociocultural and
economic characteristics.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹Other indices might have made it possible to place definitely the three indeterminate cases (pp. 112-113). Data presented in later chapters did not solve the problem of their placement. All are young, and the best conclusion that can be offered now is that they have not begun yet to participate in the adult realm.

²⁰⁰Spindler, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, p. 14.

Flannery (1953, pp. 31-34) indicates clearly that the same political organization prevailed among the Gros Ventre.

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It is important to keep this rather democratic system of government in mind in considering the official relations of these tribes with the United States government. No one man could make an important decision regarding war or peace or tribal boundaries on his own for the entire tribe. Tribal decisions were made by the head chief in consultation with the chiefs of all the bands. Band decisions were made after consultation with the other head men in the group by their principal chief.

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If we keep these facts in mind, some of the statements made by Indians at councils with representatives of the United States make far more sense than if we do not understand this basic principle of political organization in these tribes. There is evidence that the United States became increasingly cognizant of Blackfeet political democracy when in the land agreements of the 1880s and 1900s it was required that they be signed not alone by the chiefs but by the majority of the adult males of the tribe. This was not the case in the ratified treaty negotiated in 1855 or in the unratified treaties of 1865 and 1868, when chiefs and head men only signed the official documents.

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It may be seriously doubted whether, in terms of the Indians' own political system, the North Blackfeet were ever a party to either a treaty or agreement with the United States. Only four, a minority of their chiefs, signed the 1855 treaty, only one signed the 1865 and 1868 treaties, none signed the land agreements of the 1880s and 1890s.

[p. 41]

15: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1949) 1950 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Gros Ventre NQ13

with the Gros Ventre and Assiniboin at Fort Benton. (The signed treaties are in The National Archives, Indian Office Records). However, like virtually all peace negotiations between Blackfeet chiefs and the chiefs of neighboring tribes, they were of little practical value, because the ambitious young men refused to abide by them. The Gros Ventre - Piegan peace lasted less than eight months. In early December 1874, a Piegan war party killed a Gros Ventre in sight of Fort Benton. (Bradley, Vol. 9, p. 314). Several of my own elderly Piegan and Blood Indian informants of the early 1940s, who took active part in the intertribal warfare of the late 1870s and early 1880s told me of their exploits against the Gros Ventre and Assiniboin. The Blackfeet tribes did not become really friendly with the Gros Ventre and Assiniboin until after 1885.

The number of the Assiniboin sharing the western portion of the former Gros Ventre country with the Gros Ventre varied from year to year as large groups or families moved back and forth between the Upper and Lower Assiniboin. In 1875 as many as 3,500 Upper Assiniboin were reported. (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1875, p. 307). When, in 1876, the Government attempted to consolidate the Fort Peck Agency for the Gros Ventre, Assiniboin and neighboring Sioux, Fort Belknap Agency was discontinued. The Upper Assiniboin consented to move to Wolf Point, but the Gros Ventre refused to go there because of their fear of the Sioux. (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1876, p. 93). That summer the Indians of Fort Peck Agency

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TREATY AND THE EARLY RESERVE

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The early pattern was to hand over all earnings to the chief. He did not participate in the physical labour, but as "boss"—or simply as chief—was responsible for the men and all their relatives who lived in his band. He returned a part of the wages to the individual worker, and might give some to the latter's relatives, but kept a good share to be used where needed for the welfare of the whole band. Thus White Pup received the log-cutters' wages, Eagle Ribs and Weasel Calf, the hay-cutters', and Calf Bull, the miners'. 622
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Gradually the idea of the individual's right to his earnings began to filter in. Wheatley was glad to observe that "their earnings, as a rule, are well spent, and the Indians who work and earn money spend it for their own benefit, and do not share with their friends as formerly."¹ The old obligation of the more successful Blackfoot to help his relatives contrasted with the individual rewards of the white culture. The lone man who worked hard and accumulated property for himself was praised by the agent, but puzzled his relatives and friends. The question began to arise in some minds whether the band chief who had little to do with the earning of wages should receive a share. His protection and assistance were now no longer very important. 421
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A few vigorous and adaptable old chiefs kept their bands intact and remained important. The renowned warrior Eagle Ribs was able to distribute largesse: his income came from haying and from the ferry that crossed the river at his flat. Calf Bull raised a garden, dug out coal, and purchased cattle so that his band was well supplied. Others did less well in competing with the *nouveau riche*. 622
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A number of the old war chiefs could not provide as well for their followers as some upstarts without a war record. While Big Plume and Running Martin had the true requisites for chieftainship, their followers were not so prosperous as the relatives that camped with Little Axe. Bear Child's war record seemed less magnetic to those of his followers who were also relatives of James Apikoki, the successful cattle raiser across the river. Such men, who had taken up white ways with some zest, could keep their younger brothers in leggings and their aunts in calico dresses, while the conservatives went about in tatters.

Some of the men rejected by their relatives for accepting cattle may have seized the opportunity to renounce their obligations to the chief. From the North Camp cattle owners moved across the 621
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¹Ibid., p. 124.

511 A wealthy Blackfoot who owned cattle at the time^A described the conditions on the reserve, showing clearly the narrow distribution of wealth:

Before selling the land, things were tough. I would go on ration day and get a quarter of beef and then have something to help out with. My wife was good and generous, and the meat would be divided among the relations and neighbours. There were others, too. Some old bachelors with no wives were also boarded by my wife. A few were related to her, but the rest were not.

In winter it was hardest to get cash for groceries. Indians would ask for our sleigh to haul coal; one would go to the mines and haul coal to the office. When he got back, another man would want it. My wife finally said, "Let them have the sleigh to make money." These hard times kept on year after year.

[657] When over and above these rather normal difficulties for the poor, free rations were withdrawn entirely, and the self-support rations introduced, poverty became grimmer and hunger more acute. Certainly many chiefs, who were responsible for the welfare of the poor, had neither the herd nor the necessary cash to buy beef. The result was a frantic search for subsistence, which one informant describes as follows:

[571] [How did people get along without rations?] People had a hard time, but the ones that were working all the time got by all right. People could sell dry wood to white men. The ones without work were very hungry. People with grub gave to the others. This lasted for about a year; if it had been two years, it would have been very hard. I worked as a hired man for white farmers. People were thrashing. Then there were odd jobs among the whites. People planted vegetable gardens which gave them some things to sell. When the crop was ripe, each harvested and divided his own vegetables. Others killed prairie chickens, rabbits and other game. All could barely manage for food.

511 Another solution was to leave the reserve and hunt, which the following informant describes along with the effect of the absence of rations on ceremonial life:

224 In my 14th year (1909) at the Sun Dance there were more (cheap) tents than tipis. After two days every one went home because it was no fun. Then all our band moved to Hind Bull's camp. There Hind Bull said to my father: "We'll stay here until after treaty payment. Then we shall go 'way east and hunt." The women all picked berries and tanned hides. After the payment of treaty money, they bought ammunition and moved east. We would hunt every day and kill two or three deer and antelope. Mother made dried meat. She saved the bones and smashed them and cooked them to get fat. In summer father worked for whites, but in the winter they all hunted together on the Red Deer river.

A [i.e., ca. 1910—Analyst]

TRIBE UNDER TRUST

657 presence of certain witnesses. Today the agent encourages the
428 making of wills in his presence while a man is still in sound health;
this document is then filed at the agency until the testator's death.¹
Thereby property acquired through trust funds may change hands,
e.g., work horses, wagons, etc. These distributing mechanisms have
been introduced to the reserve by whites and are for the most part
foreign to the culture.

571 Fundamental to the Blackfoot distributing system is one central
431 concept which appears in some form in many institutions. It is the
Plains concept of the virtue of generosity. To most Blackfoot Indians
556 wealth is not so important in terms of accumulation of property as
571 for the prestige and security that can be acquired by giving it away.
431 Many Indians of prominence appear to lack the symbols of wealth
that we find necessary, e.g., good furniture, new clothes, many
horses, etc. They may not be wealthy in terms of property possessed,
but they are wealthy in terms of the prestige acquired from having
given away their property. However, unlike the potlatches of the
north-west coast, the Blackfoot emphasize not a single large demon-
stration of generosity but a continuous show of it. This means that
one must be sagacious and resourceful in handling affairs so that
one can give away much but still have enough to continue the show.
The criticism and self-criticism of many formerly wealthy Indians
was not that they were not generous but that they were unable to
continue the generosity. This feature is basic to an understanding
of Blackfoot economic distributing systems.

434 In our discussion of income we mentioned certain Indian entre-
preneurs² who make comfortable livings mainly through the sale of
[465] horses. Such persons also manage a system of distribution. They
must have men to care for the herd, and these "hired" men are
provided with food, clothing, and shelter in return for their services.
431 Also, however, the indigent members of the young men's families
466 are cared for by the entrepreneurs, and it is here that the concept
571 of generosity becomes important. These needy people constitute a
market for generosity. The greater the entrepreneur's income the
greater the generosity he can show and the larger the number of
persons who are eager for it.

[621] Boy Chief's establishment exemplified such a system. Although
[177] he had a few cattle, his main cash income derived from the horses
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¹It is uncertain whether a copy of the will must be forwarded to Ottawa.
Since valuable property is presumably held by the band, probating by the
Departmental Solicitor may not be necessary on the Blackfoot reserve.

²Cf. pp. 72-73; 77.

THE ECONOMY

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which he raised and trained to the saddle. He had three men more or less constantly with him. They and their wives were provided with meals, lodging, spending money, and the use of horses. In addition he provided for five old people who had no other means of support. They lived in houses near him, were given occasional blankets and clothing, accompanied him when he went to the Sun Dance or the Tobacco Dance, where they lived in his tipi and were given, when occasion demanded, groceries over and above the rations. While their grandsons drove the horses into the corral, these old dependents passed the afternoon swapping stories with Boy Chief. We estimate that on the reserve there are five such systems of economic flow centring about an entrepreneur.

These entrepreneurs may be considered the lingering exemplifications of the old band system. Like them the old band chiefs would provide a source of income for their bands: it might be harvesting with hay, planting gardens, running a ferry, or extracting coal. To the band chief came young men who performed the main tasks involved in return for their keep and, when necessary, for the clothing and feeding of their relatives. With the advent of the farms and the scattering of people over the reserve, these bands dissipated, so that the system persists today only in a few cases, though it continues as an ideal for many entrepreneurs. The band is now almost a meaningless concept to those under thirty; it is solely a named section in the brief annual circle camp where an individual sets his tent. The function of the band as a distributive system has been assumed by the family. It assumes a characteristic pattern when the head of a prosperous family has his circle of dependent relatives who furnish him a market for generosity in return for homage. This function of the family differs from that of the entrepreneurs in that the entrepreneur may provide for persons outside the family group. The main trend today is away from the entrepreneur system towards having each family care for its own members.

In addition to providing for its indigents, the family contains a system of relationships to its own members that makes for distribution. We need not describe here in detail the Blackfoot kinship system¹ with its various obligations, but a few examples will illustrate. We have already noted that kinship may be a prerequisite for one Indian to hire another. A haying gang consists frequently of a man with horses and wagons helped by his younger brothers,

¹For analysis of the Blackfoot kinship system, cf. L. M. Hanks, Jr. and Jane Richardson, "Blackfoot Kinship," American Ethnological Society, Monograph IX, 1945.

657 unified control began. The farmer was handed his seed grain and
483 was paid by the agency to plough and sow his land. The cash re-
[241] turns were doled out at the discretion of the agency. Similar control
[464] was extended to haying and trapping operations. The agency con-
trols almost every job for cash wages, to say nothing of the all-
important periodic issues of farm equipment, horses, clothing, and
food.

657 During the eighties and nineties of the preceding century, gar-
466 dening, haying, and cattle raising were carried out under the direc-
464 tion of an Indian head-man who supervised the requisite operations,
disposed of the product, and paid his men partly in welfare benefits
and services. But today each Indian is an individual worker for the
agency. The bargaining position of the head-man and his gang is
gone. The operation is fixed; the disposal of the product is out of
the hands of the worker; and the returns from his labour bring in
cash only. He is paid to work his own land and maintain his own
house. There remains only the option of accepting the opportunity
to work, or chancing agency disapproval and subsisting on rations.

657 Except for the agency's primary obligation for the welfare of the
Indians and its lack of special interest in showing a profit, its role
is similar to that of a business enterprise. An important goal is to
develop the reserve using wherever possible the labour resources of
the resident population. The criteria of successful management, like
a balance sheet for directors and stockholders, are its annual reports
of production and income that go to Ottawa. When these figures
stand high, administrative responsibility has been fulfilled, and the
organization that is run for the benefit of the Indians is deemed to
be doing its best. It brings the Indians the maximum returns, and
they, by participating as labourers and receiving the net cash re-
turns, are provided with their living.

657 The Blackfoot's standard of living has undoubtedly been raised.
511 Through careful planning they have few lean months and more than
just annuities as a backlog for depressed years. The poor are neither
so threadbare as those found on other reserves, nor are the wealthy
living in idle luxury. This result has not been brought about solely
by managerial considerations of efficiency; the Indians themselves
urged many a paternalistic feature, in the interest of retaining and
extending this basic guarantee of subsistence.

621 (2) The former groups under a head-man or chief constituted
571 not only the co-operative labour battalion but the group among
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which the produce was distributed. Within these groups also were specialists in native skills such as porcupine quilling, tipi cutting, catching eagles, and curing the sick. For a suitable return the service of one of these specialists could be obtained. Recreation took the form of a hoop and dart game, horse races, ceremonial rites and dances, all involving mainly members of the local group. Mutual obligations of care and shelter were based on real or putative kinship. A widow contributed her talents to the household of a son, daughter, brother or sister in return for food and shelter. Grandparents might bring up an orphan as one of their own. Though the source of many commodities was already the trading post or the agency, the group worked together and shared in common.

Under contemporary conditions a few of these features remain. The medicine-man continues but the other specialists have disappeared. Recreational groups are made up of people who by chance happen to be in a given locality at a particular time, like the workers at the coal-mines or the haying camps. The stampedes, the Owl Dances, the hockey games, the residual age societies and the occasional religious rite are tribal in scope, attracting interested persons from all the reserve. A reduced kinship group alone preserves most of its functions with its obligations of co-operation and sharing. In many respects the reserve residents are thus more unified than ever before, but in earning and sharing they are more divided.

To the officially recognized family of husband, wife, and children go the returns from cattle, wheat, wages, and annuities. Yet many obligations between generations, siblings, and in-laws remain intact and serve as the main channels of distribution. Though the permanent obligations to a wide group of kinsmen are fewer, the social structure continues in keeping with altered conditions. Today the size of the kinship group is partially limited by the geographical distribution of houses, but a more important factor is the generally increased and better distributed wealth. The Blackfoot are neither so poor nor so well-off as formerly; the range of wealth is narrowed. While there are fewer indigents, at the same time fewer are able to support many indigents. By and large the agency has assumed the care of what indigents there are. In many cases an elderly person lives with a biological family; other families have adopted children. But despite the contribution of more rations and annuities, only a small per cent of the total can afford to maintain many dependents over an indefinite period of time in the old way. Nevertheless, when

511 word of a windfall spreads, a man still finds himself obliged to share with his kinsmen who come to eat from the newly abundant larder and return home a few days later with a horse or a blanket.

511 These familial groups are today better provided for through
178 regularity of income. While fluctuations of fortune continue because of variable growing and market conditions, and while a herd of horses may diminish overnight from disease, the backlog of rations, jobs for wages and annuities, together with more effective technological controls, has helped to reduce serious reverses. As compared with the hazards to property of an enemy raid during buffalo days and the short life of an Indian pony when camps were continuously on the move, the forces stabilizing wealth have certainly
[425] increased. The larger investment in permanent property such as buildings, beef cattle, and farm implements, tends to be preserved by passing it on within a family, instead of destroying it or giving
[657] it away to the first comer. This continuity is fostered also by agency regulations forbidding the transfer of certain property.

556 A by-product of greater stability is the diminished possibility of
178 status mobility, a key incentive in the old system of individual competition. While the Blackfoot still censures the lazy man who now merely lives from rations, and while the agency does encourage the industrious with jobs and issues of property, in many respects personal advancement is more difficult today. The error of favoritism has been successfully avoided by the agency, and there is always a considerable number waiting for the agency hand-outs. Hence there lies no broad avenue for the ambitious. As compared with buffalo days, the capital investment necessary to become productive is much larger today. Formerly one could aspire to a herd of horses, the product of a successful war career, by starting only with patience, fortitude, and prayer—even without borrowed weapons.
556 Today, before a crop can be raised, even with trust benefits, one
178 must wait for land, take one's turn for the issue of two teams of horses and then with loaned equipment look forward to the magical
425 convergence of a productive year with a high price for the crop.
[241] Cattle are unobtainable, except through a relation's death or an agency donation, and having reached in any case the limit of available
[231] pasturage on the reserve, one can expect little from this source.
556 As for jobs, the permanent ones yield only a meagre income and the
178 temporary ones are mainly helpful in tiding over an emergency. Even the ambitious could ascribe getting ahead to luck rather than
[464] pluck.
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SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMY

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Despite greater social contact than formerly between various sectors of the reserve, the general picture is one of biological families looking to the agency for income and distributing it within a reduced circle of kinsmen. Life within these units has become more stabilized and old incentives have decreased in effectiveness.

(3) After the victory of the older generation in its fight for the issue of rations, the younger generations find them merely a contribution to their meals. Under the influence of restaurants, stores, and boarding-schools, food habits have changed. Retail stores have inevitably become the main source of any dietary supplement to the rations, mostly canned foods and bread. The same trends have occurred with clothing, for dungarees, underwear, shirts, and overcoats are the common costume of men. Even the conservative women must first buy their yardages of printed calico before making them into dresses. All except the old and discouraged now sense a need for curtains, cabinets, kitchen tables, and linoleum rugs, items which are not included in the basic agency issues to the newly married. Maintaining a household has become unalterably dependent upon the white economy.

Maintenance services increase this dependence. The Gleichen mechanics and blacksmiths repair Indian cars and farm equipment, sewing machines, radios, and mechanical washers. The dentist extracts their teeth and orders plates for them. Being human, some Blackfoot undervalue the free medical services at their hospital and prefer to patronize, and pay, village doctors and pharmacists. Recreation at the pool halls and the movies, the cup of tea and the sandwich at the Chinese restaurant, the occasional trip to Calgary on the railway, all show further dependence on the white economy. Indeed, as a consumer the average Blackfoot differs little from the white farmers and villagers that surround the reserve.

Certain basic attitudes of a market economy have crept in. The virtue of exhibitionistic generosity has decreased in value, and the virtue, formerly soft-pedalled, of sagacity with property (*sikinapsi*, a shrewd person) has gained. This attitude is supported by the shortage of cash for making necessary purchases and in turn supports the trend towards a narrower definition of obligation to kinsmen. An elderly man who had purchased a medicine bundle was openly criticized by his sons and grandchildren for incurring needless expenses, since the owner of this bundle was expected to hold periodic feasts and give-aways, and with living now geared to the white economy, this was hard to do. A generation ago ownership of this

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMY

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capitalize individual enterprise. Thus, except for the part-time vendor and the seasonal services performed in the mining village, intra-reserve enterprise has remained undeveloped. This stands in considerable contrast with many reservations in the United States where stores, garages, and filling stations are owned and operated by Indians. 177
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Whether or not the encouragement of enterprise for a fee is desirable for the Blackfoot reserve is debatable. From the point of view of the writers, the critical point is that the Indians lie midway in social structure between two types of economy. The one is the indigenous system where goods and services flow on a basis of reciprocal obligations between members of a common group of kinsmen. Though the prestige-gaining treasures of the system required a fee, as on entering an age-graded society, subsistence was based on reciprocal obligations. The poor were either not poor in this basic sense or were isolated individuals without kinsmen. The other economy, the white system, places even subsistence on a fee basis and dissolves the community of obligations within most groups beyond the family. On the reserve services for a fee have entered; dealings with whites are necessarily on such a basis, and between Indians this pattern is also found occasionally, e.g., taxi service to the coal-mine. However, the mechanisms of distribution within the reserve and the relation of Indian employer to employee are still based on reciprocal obligations. 177
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Indeed, until now the Blackfoot seem to have resisted the market economy. Indians have persistently argued that the agency should assume the obligation of providing basic economic security. They have been unwilling ever since signing the treaty to adopt the white view of satisfying the basic needs for warmth and sustenance on a fee basis. This was a compelling reason for settling on the reserve and later for selling a portion of it. The agent, instead of being a manager of their affairs is considered the dispenser of necessities, which have changed through the years.¹

Individualism they have, in the tradition of other Plains Indians. 571
A Blackfoot might take whatever sacred bundles appealed to him or, if he wished, invent a new bundle. He might go to war alone or, in company with a war party, endanger for his own interests the safety of the group, without serious repercussions. In camp he was the law that protected his interests. Many of the same individualistic

¹As this relates to chiefs and the extended family, cf. p. 130, p. 161.

110

TRIBE UNDER TRUST

571 ingredients that went into these native cultural patterns enter today into raising a fine herd of horses or harvesting a bumper crop of wheat. Yet the distinction is clear in the Blackfoot mind that the old enterprises were never carried on at a sacrifice of basic security.

657 Today the reserve distribution and security system is balanced between two opposing forces. To the extent that the trust funds can provide them, this security will be a rallying point for many who seek even greater benefits. To the extent that these are provided, the trust funds will stabilize the present system. The other side of the picture reveals the inroads of white economic ideology, dissolving important distributive channels and isolating groups that formerly stood together. This has fertilized the ground for a competitive market system, so that when valued skills have been obtained, disintegration of the social body may continue. But at present these Indians are unable through poverty and unwilling through taste to forego security for potential benefits, though most make every effort to have white produce and their own basic security too.

ADEQUACY OF THE ECONOMY TO THE NEEDS

121 If the reserve economy has provided basic security, we may inquire in what respects it is adequate to satisfy the other needs of the Indians. Needs are determined by the report of a person experiencing them and, on the assumption that all behaviour satisfies some conscious or unconscious needs, by inference from an individual's behaviour. Accordingly we shall first ask whether any of the needs that a white man feels should exist on the reserve, do in actuality exist. Then we shall observe other Indian reserves and ask whether the apparent needs of these reserves also exist on the Blackfoot reserve. Finally we shall consider the conscious needs of the Blackfoot reserve, studying their relation to the economy.

511 *Needs as judged by whites.* The first comment of most whites hearing of the Blackfoot economic system is that the Blackfoot have their chief needs cared for. They have basic economic security: their rations obviate worry about food, the houses built on the reserve with trust funds are rent-free, the schools and the hospital are free, there are no taxes, the extra annuities for the aged provide old-age security. Judging by this, the Blackfoot have nothing to worry about, and hence must be the most care-free people in the world.

648 achieved his position the Blackfoot way. Twenty years after treaty,
622 in 1897, there were eleven bands and fourteen chiefs, of whom three
were elected, six appointed by the agent, and five who had achieved
rank in the classical manner.

621 In the first decades of reserve life, the people adapted themselves
361 with as few changes as possible. The chief settled with his band
around him on one of the flats along the Bow River. Except for
periods of outside work, these villages of shacks and tipis were occu-
pied throughout the year. Occasionally a chief led a small group
into the northern bush country to hunt deer, but these hunts were
not entirely necessary for food because beef was issued weekly.
Rather, people wanted hides for moccasins or weasel-tail coats, or
perhaps they were merely restless, finding it irksome always to
remain in the same place.

622 Though deprived of his function as director on the march and
433 partly superseded as arbiter by the agent, the chief still controlled
511 much of the economic destiny of the band. He was more than ever
a distributor of necessities, dispensing not only food among the
needy members of his band, but also tobacco, blankets, clothing,
and materials for building shacks. All his possessions were at the
disposal of the band. As in the famine days just after treaty, a good
chief would share his food and supplies with the members of his
band down to the last bag of pemmican. If a man wanted a team
of horses or a wagon with a hay rack, usually the chief was the man
to see, for the chief owned the implements. In return the chief would
receive a portion of the man's earnings in money, labour, or kind.
When a neighbouring white rancher needed help at roundup,
haying, or harvest time, he approached the band chief. Were the
conditions satisfactory, a group of band members was instructed to
move near the rancher and perform the required tasks. After the
work was completed, the chief was paid, and he distributed part of
the pay to his men. Moreover, most band villages had gardens at
one time, where potatoes and turnips were grown. At planting time
and when cultivation was necessary, the chief called out the young
men of the band. In return, the garden produce was dispensed among
the hungry during the winter.

622 It was still possible for young men to attach themselves to the
house of a chief in the role of a "hired man," to aid the chief by
caring for his horses, gathering those strayed out on the range,
procuring provisions from the store, and running sundry errands on
business of the chief. In return these men were treated by the chiefly

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

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Blackfoot criteria of chiefly behaviour tends to eliminate those who have no genuine urge to work for tribal welfare. When a boy is just out of school, he enters upon an initial period of striving to make a living. Aided by the agency and relatives, he marries and takes up farming. To become chief, he must show energy and persistence enough to bring some sort of tangible return. This has striking parallels with the old war-pattern and the related validation of supernatural powers, for both paths require persistence, and both are publicly recognized only in terms of tangible results. Indeed, this parallel seems to be recognized by Indians, as indicated by the statement of an informant:

[How do people become chiefs today?] Now-a-days war is out. You cannot get rich that way. Today it depends upon the man, how hard he tries and works. These men [informant names five chiefs] are the ones selected for working hard without going through wars.

Certainly most chiefs have succeeded as workers. In 1939 the members of the council of chiefs owned on the average 41.9 head of cattle as compared with 23.4 for all cattle owners. They also owned 19.2 head of horses on the average, while all owners of horses averaged 10.6. Only one chief had no property of this kind, though he had property at the time of his election. He was criticized for "not continuing his work" but living from the allowance for old people.

Yet merely to amass wealth is inadequate. One must also be generous and "kind-hearted," which means giving time, energy, and service in behalf of the Indians. One must not only have a cutter and binder for one's grain crop but be willing to lend them to a needy person. If a neighbour needs a hand stacking the bundles of wheat after borrowing the cutter and binder, one should lend a hand. For all visitors coming to the house, there should be a bowl of tea or even a plate of meat. As mentioned before in the chapter on economy, chiefs are under special obligations of generosity, but most important for the elected chief is that the circle of recipients be expanded beyond the kinsmen. This wider demand clearly shows the difference between the elected chief and the entrepreneur type of chief who needs only to look after his immediate circle of followers.

Furthermore, six out of nine informants in their conversations about chiefs said that the latter should be able "to solve problems." This is why a man comes to participate in a pressure group, for by

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

In the Old Days, men danced to express their spiritual and physical powers and to stimulate their enthusiasm for bravery and for thoughts about life in harmony with nature. The dancers wore their fanciest war clothes and most spiritual dream symbols. Often they imitated their spiritual helpers, dressing and dancing in imitation of some bird or animal. The steps were usually slow and all the movements emphasized symbolic meanings. The men danced to inspire each other when they gathered with their society comrades. They danced to arouse the courage of a departing war party and they danced to celebrate the victory when the party returned successfully. In victory dances, the victors often took no part. Instead, their relatives, often wives or mothers, put on their war dress and bonnets and carried the trophies of the victorious battle around the dance circle. Guns and scalp were commonly held aloft, while the bearer called out the relative's name and praised his bravery and success.

As life in harmony with nature changed, so did the dancing. Dancing became more and more of a social affair, where the People gathered to sing and visit. As modern clothing replaced traditional dress, the social dances also became one of the few opportunities for the People to wear the old-time clothing. Those who could afford fancy clothes found this an opportunity to express their wealth and material success. The young men, of course, found these social dances fine for showing off and courting young women. Here is how Atsit-sina remembers it:

The ladies will sit to one side, at a dance, and the men will sit on the other side. Before a lady

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

goes to a dance she will think of her boyfriend. She will think, "I will wear my best so that he will see me." A single man will think the same way. The women will sit and the drummers will sing a good song. The men—they will dance the best way they can, to impress their girlfriends. They are just like them new dancers—they move their hips just like them white dancers that look like they are dancing by themselves. The men will dance as best as they can—all the while looking at their girlfriends. They do it very good—some will know how to take good sneaking glances at the girls. 535 571 ●

Men who like to show off will paint their faces, and the women will just watch. Those who show off will dance very slowly so everyone will get a good look at them. They will put on their best face. By the end of the dance their eyes will be in the side of their head, because that is the way they will have been looking at their girlfriends all night. The women will do the same way when they get up and they do their circle dance. [302]

Social dances are held throughout the year on the Blood Reserve, and visitors come from all over to attend them. A social dance is also a regular part of each year's Sun Dance Encampment; at our 1972 camp, it was held on the last Sunday of the gathering, a day when many visitors were present. The appearance of the dancers and their dancing styles had little resemblance to what was seen in the Old Days or in the Grass Dance days. Most dance costumes today are bright and flashy and seldom show the quality or craftsmanship of the long-ago. Colored T-shirts, brightly-dyed feathers, and dime-store sequins are very common, and more than one costume sports Japanese-made commercial beadwork. Like the outfits, many dancing styles are flashy and captivating, but based on physical ability rather than on spiritual motivation. The Old People sometimes refer to the new style as gymnastics, though it is more commonly called war dancing or fancy dancing. 535 [178] [292]

[p.224.A]

27: Dempsey H-4,5 (no date) 1982
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

place." The leadership was passed on to an apparent nonrelative, Gross Blanc, whom the trader described as "a man of unfounded ambition and ferocity." 622
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Informants knew of a number of instances where the chief resigned to pass the title along to a younger man, usually a son or brother. Two Suns turned the leadership of the Fish Eaters over to his son, Seen From Afar, in the 1840s; Fish Child gave up his leadership of the Many Fat Horses in favor of his brother, Many Spotted Horses in the 1850s; and Blackfoot Old Woman became chief of the Black Elks while its former leader, Eagle Head, was still alive.

One of the obvious reasons why the leadership often passed down to a relative was that the majority of those who were prominent in the band were closely related. The eldest son or younger brother was privy to the daily routines and responsibilities of leadership and had the opportunity to become personally acquainted with the elite within the tribe, or the nation, thus placing him in a favored position for wielding political influence. 622
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There is no tradition of violence ever erupting because of a dispute over leadership. Even during the perilous half decade from 1869 to 1874, when whiskey had unrestricted sale in Blackfoot country and intratribal conflicts were common, leadership controversy was never a factor. This can be attributed to the democratic nature of the band system; no chief had dictatorial control over his followers, even in times of war. If a Blood was dissatisfied with the leadership being provided, he could simply move to another band or, if he had his own following, create his own band. A dictatorial chief would soon discover that he had no following. 622
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The successful chief usually possessed a number of positive qualities. He was generous, a good provider, and was often wealthy. He had a good war record and was frequently a ceremonialist, orator, and diplomat. Not every leader was gifted with all of these attributes, but certain men were remembered because they may have excelled in one or more. Medicine Calf, leader of the Many 622
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[p.97-A]

During the course of the winter, should the Bloods be joined by several other bands, among which was a chief with more influence than the one presiding, the new arrival would assume leadership of the council. These arrangements were usually informal and without rancor for, not surprisingly, many of the chiefs as part of the tribal elite were related through marriage. If a chief was jealous of his position, he would simply avoid camping with anyone to whom he might be obliged to take a secondary role.

There were, of course, instances when two leading chiefs might clash. Among the Blackfeet, Crowfoot superseded the elder Old Sun as the leading chief of the tribe and at a council meeting the decision was made that the two men would travel together to hunt buffalo after the Sun Dance. However, Old Sun decided to leave before the end of the ceremonies and was leading his wife's travois from the camp when Crowfoot tried to detain him forcibly by shooting at the horse. Old Sun, however, defied Crowfoot and left (Dempsey, 1972:68-69).

Among the Bloods, the political chiefs in ranking order of importance immediately prior to the 1877 treaty with the Canadian government were Red Crow, Father Of Many Children, Medicine Calf, and Many Spotted Horses. Opinions of informants varied according to their own band affiliations, but all agreed on the top four leaders.

When camped, whether as a single band or the whole tribe, the political chief had control over the warrior societies. To them he designated the responsibility for guarding the camp, controlling the buffalo hunts, maintaining internal order, and protecting the group while on the trail.

Once instructed, the warrior societies had authoritarian control within prescribed limits, and even the band chiefs were not above their commands. For example, once when the Piegans were hunting, a herd was sighted and instructions were given that no one was to go hunting until the following day. This was to give everyone a chance to prepare his horses and gear. A short time later, a warrior society patrol came across the leader of the Lone Fighters band with a dead buffalo. He

THE FATHER IMAGE IN BLOOD SOCIETY

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families these relationships were taken very seriously. In all, no matter how limited the material benefits, they gave an added security to children whose sense of belonging was often shaken. 593
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But such extensions did not alter the traditional basis of favoritism. It was the father who, almost always established a *minipoka*, and it was the father who remained the symbol of the "giver." To say, "He was like a father to me," not only implied that the individual referred to had something to offer, but that the speaker had benefited from his generosity and love. That a "true" *minipoka* might see his father as "giver" is quite understandable. But others who had enjoyed little, if any, of the favorite's privileges built a similar image. Unpleasant treatment at the hands of a father or father substitute (frequently an older brother-in-law) was recalled with little display of hostility or repressed altogether. 858
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A man whose father had "walked out on the family" would tell with obvious pleasure of the latter's kindness to him during a short visit years afterwards; or, a man who was "raised" by his grandmother and shunted about from place to place, would say of the various heads of the households he had stayed in, "They all treated me like a son," although none of them, not even those who had "special power," conspicuously demonstrated their affection for him; or a man who had donned women's clothes and attempted suicide because his *minipoka* brother-in-law was the accepted family head, would speak most enthusiastically of the latter's "goodness" to him. 154
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Thus it is clear that as more wealth accumulated—and this holds for the nonnative as well as for the native forms—a son's status, privilege and prestige was tied more and more to his father's; and more and more, a son felt impelled to insist that his father was outstandingly good and generous. For the *minipoka* the gap between fact and profession may not have been too great. For those who wanted to keep up with the Joneses—the less privileged and the little-privileged, and these were the overwhelming majority—it must have been wide indeed. Under these circumstances, the trickster tales undoubtedly fulfilled an important function: in a society where the institutions encouraged an idealization of the father, they offered a vigorous and uncensored release for the son's repressed feelings of aggression. 536
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So interpreted, the differently weighted father images evoked in Blood mythology and in daily living generally become understandable. Equally understandable is the increased popularity of the trickster tales. 538
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30: Kehoe E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1980

NF6 Blackfoot NF6 ●

Cree NG4

tion. In the dialectic of ethnicity, "Indian" is a semantic axis along which generosity is a content and the giveaway its expression. For effectiveness in communication, the expression has become highly restricted (ritualized) and redundant. (It must overcome the "noise" of the many instances of goods accumulation by members of Indian communities and of generosity within Euro-American society.) The modern formal giveaway is a transformation (Eco 1978:199-200) of the principle of band social organization — *sharing of resources under ephemeral leadership* — into a recognized utterance, which in the context of the twentieth-century Northern Plains conveys the message of Indian rather than Anglo-American affiliation.

A second function of the modern Northern Plains giveaway is the public identification of individuals' social networks. Mrs. B— gave gifts to all those who had made an effort to visit her late husband in his terminal crisis. By this criterion she sorted out those persons who demonstrated themselves to be actively involved in her family's concerns. The public ritual of the giveaway then displayed to the community the network on which the B— family relies and acknowledges obligations. The occasioning of giveaways following changes in status occurs because status changes often affect the makeup and extent of social networks: the giveaway communicates which existing ties are reinforced, which new ones assumed. The community is a pool or source of possible network participants, and the small giveaway when a child first dances not only displays his limited network which will ramify from this initial core. Singling out visitors from other tribes to receive gifts conveys the giver's desire to extend his or her social network beyond the local group. It is important to note that the giveaway expresses the giver's somewhat idealized perception of his or her network, not a hard-and-fast bounded set.

The mid-twentieth century Indian population explosion on the Northern Plains has changed the signal of network membership from residential grouping to giveaway participation. During the nineteenth century, the networks of all but the principal leaders coincided with the bands in which they lived. An individual or family was free to shift from one band to another, and not infrequently

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30: Kehoe E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1980
 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
 Cree NG4

did. The composition of a band could be perceived, however, in winter by the clustering of tipis in valley-bottom camps isolated from other band encampments, and in summer by their clustering in sections of the tribal circle at Sun Dance rendezvous. When the reservations were established, bands became hamlets. The population doubling of the past quarter century has blurred the boundaries of networks, in part of younger Indians seeking employment elsewhere when hamlet lands could not support additional families farming or ranching. In part by government housing programs erecting new homes on tracts selected without regard to network centers. The giveaway distribution list supplants the traditional residential clustering as a delineation of the Indian communities' basic transfamilial units.

The third function of the modern Northern Plains giveaway is status ranking. The amount and value of goods given should roughly reflect the value of the honored person to the community. The grand gesture of giving away horses in honor of Miss Alberta Indian Princess indicates the prestige brought to the whole reserve by the young lady's triumph; the extended giving in honor of longtime tribal councilman W-B- and of committee-man Swimmer was congruent with the services rendered by these gentlemen. Conversely, the smaller giveaway for S-A- the young dancer, and the mere five dollars donated by Mary G- at her grandson's first powwow dancing were proper considerations of the lesser statuses of these younger persons. The giveaway is not supposed to be an arena for overt competition for status through lavish giving. Mrs. B-'s daughter proposed holding a giveaway to honor her parents while both were alive, but her father-in-law advised her that a giveaway without a status-change occasion would be "showing off." A giveaway in good taste validates status but does not itself materially alter it.

There are obvious similarities between the Northern Plains giveaway and the Northwest Coast potlatch. Both are public proclamations of status claim, both use blankets as tokens. Drucker and Heizer's (1967:8) statement, "The potlatch must be regarded as a formal procedure for social integration, its prime purpose being to identify the member

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strict. They used to strap us all the time. I wouldn't take that now. Later, there was this one guy, Mr. _____. He used to just talk to you. He talked real good. When he talked to you, you didn't feel like cutting up or making mischief.

These girls around here, well I guess you know about them. They're always out in the bushes with these guys. At school they write letters to each other, meet at the dances. Most of them meet at the Sun Dance. They go around the camp to meet. They go around under blankets so no one can recognize them.

I've been pretty rough on the girls too. You know, go out and start wrestlin' around right away. I used to go out with this girl in Stand-off. We'd go off and she'd say, "I saw you out with that girl," and I'd say, "I saw you out with that guy," and we'd fight. We'd get real jealous. But I'm not a guy who likes to fool around.

A lot of guys, they do a lot of fooling around. When they get married they remember the past and get jealous, beat up their wife. These girls, they go around with these guys, they're easy. I don't want to marry one of them. I'm not going to get married but this one girl is sure putting the pressure on me.

Last year, I had this job. Made good money. After I quit work I had \$195 and was goin' to buy a car. Well, I started buying clothes, goin' to rodeos, spendin' it little by little. Well, Calgary [stampede] came along, and I went to Calgary. I had about \$100 left. I came back broke. You gotta have money in Calgary but it was worth it. I don't miss the car unless I'm walkin'.

● 571

These are some of the influences upon the young person growing up on the Blood Reserve. One notes a strong emphasis upon interpersonal relations. And, although many of these are of an ambivalent or aggressive nature, they

[593] seem to be valued. Father, mother, sister, uncle, grand-
[603] father, and an old man are important figures in the young
[605] man's life. His cousin, demanding as he is, is also im-
[648] portant. When the young Indian extends his quest for human

571 contact beyond the immediate Reserve community, he runs
648 afoul of the ambivalent relations between the Blood and
white communities. Both communities hold mixed feelings
about one another and attempt to discourage external rela-
562 tions. Male-female relations are tenuous. From the
593 strained relations between brother and sister to the ag-
gressive acts between sweethearts and spouses this pattern
emerges. It is a common pattern. Independent young men
and women cannot easily change attitudes learned in the
rough and tumble of parental marital crises and inter-
cultural hostility.

Athletics

526 This competitive independence would have been more
[155] apparent if it were possible to include the various athletic
[555] activities engaged in by the young men. For the young
Blood, these activities lead to personal achievement, and,
therefore, they select activities that they do well. What
the young man does well has to do with his general back-
[54] ground and the opportunities it provides. Several of the
young men of the sample, brought up in a ranching or stock
rearing environment, specialized in rodeo events such as
calf roping and bronc riding. Others, only marginally con-
nected with this life also chose to compete in bronc riding.
524 Many homes that are devoid of livestock sport a "bucking

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The terrified winner begged for his life but the enraged Fisher killed him with his knife. Then the loser turned to his woman and lifted the buffalo robe cover. She too, was dead. Covering herself with her robe, she had grasped a knife in both her hands and pressed it down into her heart. . . . "It is my fault," he said, "my fault, my fault! But you shall not go alone. I am with you yet." And before any of us could interfere, he plunged the knife he still held into his own bosom, and fell over beside her, life-blood streaming from his mouth.⁶⁴

[57]

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The motivations and causal factors involved in this murder-double suicide are complex; however, it is apparent that the gamblers were competing for more than diversion and that such competition could not help but lead to open and overt conflict. The drive to compete, to win, to avoid shame is all part of the tragic episode. Among the young Blood of nearly a century ago, as today, lives were not segmented into work and leisure. Success strivings continued on into the night via the hand game.

SUMMARY

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● 571

To conclude this section on the young Blood of the past there are a number of points worth reviewing. In the search for past behaviors that relate to today, a major facet of Blood life came to light: the Blood community. Thompson noted the relevance of this unit in his description of alliances and emotions. Also, one can infer the effect of the Blood-Blackfoot community from the episodes of the war party, the bear story, and from the statement on

175 child training. Henry, being an outsider, only marginally
571 alludes to the existence of the Blood-Blackfoot community.

Yet, the unfortunate effects of his social distance from his Indian customers are testimony to the existence of such a community.

In the section dealing with Schultz there is extensive documentation on this point. The existence of the Indian community is indicated in numerous episodes quoted in this chapter, but it is most eloquently stated in relation to Schultz' marriage and his subsequent duties as the husband of a Peigan woman.

Because he was not an Indian, Schultz was unable to assume the role of a young Indian, despite his marital status. He did, however, have some responsibilities to his community as a residential member. Because he was white, he could not continue his participation in entrepreneurial horse raids (note that the objections to his participation were phrased both in economic and in social terms). And, although his status in relation to his mother-in-law was different from his Indian peers, this did not mean his responsibility to defend the community and to participate in its on-going life was abrogated. Thus he was at one and the same time a member and a non-member of the Indian community. Schultz' life as an Indian is a good illustration

175 of what might be one of the problems faced by the young
571 Blood today, a balancing of two communities, only one of
which is equipped to invoke the recognized informal sanctions
for misbehavior.

181 We find, then, in the data derived from historical
178 sources many continuities between the values and behaviors
observed in the past, and those derived from the I.A.I.
analysis. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter,
and it is felt continuously throughout the historical material,
success, practicality, and knowledge or experience serve
[175] to organize young Blood strivings. From the educational
horse raid to the wifely instruction of Schultz these facts
are apparent. However, these extensive organizing orientations
do not exist alone in either era of Blood life. Many
of the specific values of the young Blood appear in the
portals of the past. Economic security, immediacy of success
and reward, role compartmentalization into male/female
expectations, recognition, activity, excitement, yes, nearly
all of the contemporary values and negative values appear in
some form. It should also be noted that they all appear in
their proper places.

Although the inventory of Blood material culture
has changed and although the young Blood of today undergo
different formal training, the two sets of attitudes and